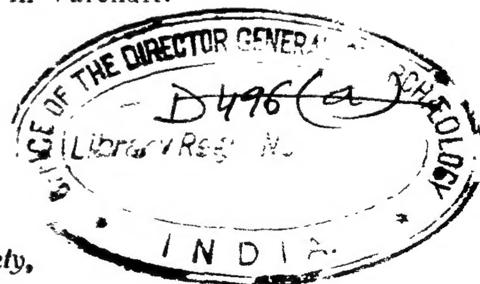




VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPHS

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Contents.



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Re. 2

FOREWORD.

All the articles published in the following pages were read in meetings of the Society and but for some unforeseen circumstances would have been before the public months ago. I trust, scholars will, nevertheless, welcome them.

Varendra Research Society.
March, 1934.

G. S. BHATTACHARYYA,
Honorary Secretary.

I

The Antiquities of Sundarbans.

Kalidas Datta, Mazilpur, 24 Parganas.

In my paper on the "Antiquities of Khari", published in the *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1928-29, I described many antiquarian remains discovered in the south-eastern parts of the Diamond Harbour and Alipur sub-divisions of the 24 Parganas district upto lots no. 22, 24, 26, 116 and 117. In the present article besides giving a detailed account of two temples, already noticed briefly in the above paper, I propose to describe another temple as well as a few more antiquities which I have recently found in the tract on the south of the above lots.

All these temples are built of bricks and depict close similarity to the Nāgara type. The agreement in respect of their style and general plan as also the equality in the size of their bricks indicate that they are coeval buildings.

LOT No. 116.
JATAR DEUL.

Of them the temple of Jaṭār Deul (Figures 1 & 2.) is the highest. It was discovered within the sixties of the last century during the clearance of the jungles over lot no. 116, which is now situated about ten miles to the east of the old course of the Adi-Ganga, under the Mathurapur P. S. of the Diamond Harbour sub-division.

At present this structure rises from a patch of high ground, about half an acre in area, close to the Moni river, and serves as a conspicuous landmark from many miles away.

As to its present name of Jaṭār Deul two legends are current. One is that it was frequented by a tiger having a *jaṭā* or clotted fur. The other already referred to in the *List of the ancient Monuments in Bengal*, is that it held a Śiva-Liṅga known as Jaṭādhāri.

The *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for December 1868, contain the following statement with regard to this temple :

"Mr. Swinhoe has published a figure of the ruins lately discovered in lot no. 116. The temple is of the Buddhist type of architecture."

Dr. W. W. Hunter also says, "In lot no. 116 the ruins are said to be Buddhistic" (*Statistical Account of Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 381). But he gives no evidence in support of his statement. Some persons object to its being taken as a Hindu temple on the ground of its entrance being on the east. Late Mr. Monmohan Ganguly also holds that it is contrary to the strict Hindu principles of temple-building (*Orissa and Her Remains,* pp. 409-410). But this theory is untenable, as the entrance on this side is prescribed in the *Hayaśīrsha Pañcharātra,* (vide *Sabdakalpadruma,* under *Mandir).*

A few years ago this building was repaired and taken over by the Government under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. Before that it was under the care of the Zemindar of the place, who repaired some portion of its *Bāḍa,* and built the present turret on its head. It is said that one Mr. Smith, who was the first lessee of the lot, had pulled down its top in search for treasure.

The structure is square in ground plan, each side measuring 32 feet, and built of bricks much bigger in dimension than those used in modern buildings. The peculiarity in respect of its general design consists in the absence of the plinth. The *Vimāna* starts at once from the pavement, and the outer facade of each of its side-walls is broken into three different pilasters, which are again characterized by smaller repetitions of the same.

Three deep recesses and four sharp lines of projections demarcate its *Bāḍa* from *Śikhara.*

The face of the *Bāḍa* is plain and bears no decoration of any kind. Babus Dvijendra Nath Singha of Mathurapur and Harinath Misra of Diamond Harbour informed me that a few years after the discovery of the temple they had seen round it a narrow circumambulating path covered by a sloping roof. But no trace of it is available at present. It was probably, demolished by the men of the Zemindar, who, as already stated above, had repaired the *Bāḍa* previous to the temple being declared protected by the Government.

The *Śikhara* (Spire) is curvilinear. As already stated, it was broken when the present turret was built by the Zemindar, so it is now difficult to say what its original elevation had been. Formerly it was profusely decorated with

various kinds of ornamentations including miniature replicas of the temple. But unfortunately they are now lost, though as late as in the year 1914, when the late Dr. Spooner visited the site, many of them were present on it (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle,* 1914-15, p. 66).

The doorway of the building, which faces the east, measures 16 feet in height, and 9 feet 6 inches in width. It has got a triangular corbelled arch over it. This is the only opening to serve as an inlet for air and light into the temple.

The *Garbhagṛiha* (cella) is square in size, each side measuring 10 feet 9 inches, and contains only four projecting brackets built into the corners of the walls. The level of the floor, which is paved with bricks, is about 6 feet lower than that of the adjoining ground and access to it is gained by a descending flight of steps.

The *Tīrthakuṇḍa* (reservoir of holy water) was on the north, at the base of the high ground on which the temple stands. It was square and built of bricks, the ruins being still present. In the *List of the Ancient Monuments in Bengal* it has been wrongly recorded as an underground room.

At present the remains of the *Maṇḍapa* (porch) lie buried under the debries in front of the temple, over which some trees stand. Close to it on the south-east there are ruins of a big pucca well, which was evidently sunk there for the use of the pilgrims.

No relics, worth mentioning, have been discovered from the temple or the ruins adjoining it, except two fragments of a carved stone of black shale, and a few copper coins of Huvishka, each bearing on one side, the figure of an elephant with a rider on its back, and on the other some dotted borders. One of the fragments of the stone is now in the kacharee of the Zemindar, on one side of which the lower parts of three women are found carved, while the other fragment was removed to Calcutta by Mr. Burge, late Settlement Officer. From the shape of these two blocks of stone it appears that they once served as the capital of a pillar. Square-shaped blocks exactly similar to these are seen inside the Pathan Mosques at Pandua in the Hoogly district, on the tops of the pillars of black shale, which were vandalised from the old Hindu temple.

In 1928 a few more copper coins of the same type as already noted, were unearthed near the Chuck of Babu Hari Nath Misra, which is not far from the temple. I presented one of them to the museum of the Varendra Research Society.

The style and general plan of the above structure bear closer affinity to the mediaeval temples of Bhubanesvara in Orissa, than the later Bengali temples of this type. The bricks of large dimensions, resembling modern tiles, used in its construction, also bespeak a high antiquity for it. Nevertheless it was not so long regarded very old, and even now scholars like Messrs K. N. Dikshit and Nalini Kanta Bhattasali are of opinion that it belongs to the Moghul period (*A. R. A. S. I.*, 1921-22, p 78; *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* Introduction, pp. XVI-XVII).

But this theory is untenable as the *Chaitanya Bhagavata* and the list of the Parganas in the Sarkar Satgaon as given in the *Ayeen Akbari* clearly indicate that the site of this temple, which is about ten miles to the south of Chhatrabhog and Hatiāgarh Pargana, was under jungles during the Muhammadan period (*Chaitanya Bhagavata* edited by Atulkrishna Goswami, 2nd edition, p 385, "Geography and History of Bengal", H. Blochman, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p. 231, Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*. Vol. I. p. 381).

This appears to be the probable reason why the Bengali poems composed in the 16th, 17th and 18th century A. D., like Bipradas Chakravarti's *Manasar Bhasan*, Mukunda Ram Chakravarti's *Chandi Kavya*, Krishna Ram's *Raimangal*, and Ayodhya Ram's *Satyanarayaner punthi*, which describe villages on the Adi Ganga do not make mention of any village beyond Chhatrabhog and Hatiāgarh Pargana.

Besides the above evidences the same conclusion can be arrived at from the archaeological finds, too, discovered in the environs of the temple of Jaṭār Deul, where upto the present time not a single relic of the Muhammadan time has been found, though numerous stone sculptures and other antiquities of the pre-Muhammadan age have been discovered (for the illustrations of these relics, see *V. R. S. Monographs*, no. 3).

A copper plate inscription unearthed near the temple also showed that it was built long before the Muhammadan age. But unfortunately it is now lost.

The List of Ancient Monuments in the Presidency Division, published by the Government of Bengal in 1896, contains a reference to it which I quote below :

"The Deputy Collector of Diamond Harbour reported in 1875 that a copper plate, discovered in a place a little to the north of Jaṭār Deul, fixes the date of the erection of the temple by Raja Jayantachandra in the year 897 of the Bengali Saka era corresponding to A. D. 975. ... ... The copper plate was discovered during the clearing of the jungles by the grantee Durgaprasad Chaudhury. The inscription is in Sanskrit and the date as usual was given in an enigma with the name of the founder" (p 2). Recently Mr. K. N. Dikshit has changed his view about the age of this temple and writes as follows :

"The temple has considerable architectural merit, its tall brick spire profusely ornamented on the exterior with its own miniatures and other geometric mouldings being one of the few remaining examples of the Indo-Aryan or *Nāgara* style extant in Bengal. Another example of the same style in Bengal is the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara in district Bankura, a slight difference manifesting itself in the more curvilinear outline of the spire of the latter. The Bahulara temple has been assigned to as early a date as the tenth century A. D. by Dr. Coomarswamy, although previous investigators did not take it to be so early in date. It is possible that the earlier date is a century or two too early, but there can be no doubt that these two examples of the brick *Śikhara* type, can not be far removed in date from their stone prototypes so well-known from the Bhubanesvara style of architecture, the latest example of which is dated in the 12th century A. D." *(A. R. A. S. I.,* for 1927-28, p. 41).

The next temple stands at present at a place called Delbari, in the south-western part of lot no. 122 under the Jaynagore P. S. of the Alipore sub-division (Figure 3). The distance between this structure and the temple of Jaṭār Deul is nearly six miles. It was discovered in the midst of the jungles about twelve years ago. Now only the *Bāḍa* and a portion of its *Śikhara* exist upto the height of about 30 feet. The top evidently fell down. The outer facade of each of its side walls is characterized by pilasters. This temple is also square in plan measuring 17 feet 9 inches externally and 7 feet 4½ inches internally. The level of the floor is about five feet below the doorway and can be reached by a descending flight of steps.

LOT No. 122. DELBARI.

The entrance, which faces the west, opens through a buttress, and consists of a triangular opening 3 feet 9 inches wide. The ruins of the *Maṇḍapa* of this temple now lie buried under the debris in the front covering about 10 cottas of land. Inside the *garbhagṛiha* there is a broken pedestal of an image of black shale. Some bricks of the *Bāḍa* contain decorative motifs like horse-shoes. [1]

About half a mile to the east of this spot, ruins of another building are still to be found extending over almost one bigha of land.

The other temple was discovered about eight years ago near the Jaggadal Gang in the north-eastern portion of H. plot under the Mathurapur P. S. (Figures 4 & 5). The site of it lies nearly 12 miles to the south-west of the lot no. 116 as the crow flies, and is even now under dense jungles. This structure still rises to a height of about 35 feet. The bricks on all sides of it have dropped down, but a portion of the *Śikhara* still remains unbroken. The entrance like that of the Jaṭār Deul, is under a triangular corbelled arch, facing the east and measures 3 feet 4½ inches in width.

BONSHAM-NAGORE H. PLOT.

The *garbhagṛiha* is square-shaped, each side measuring 5 feet only. It is roofed over by a radiating arch, which is believed to have originated in the Muhammadan age, but this temple of Bonshamnagore supplies evidence of the pre-Muhammadan knowledge and use of it in Bengal.

The figures of temples with arches as depicted over many ancient images, discovered in various parts of Bengal also indicate that the principle of constructing arch of this type was known to the people of our province long before the advent of the Muhammadans.

Mr. Havell holds the same view regarding arches. According to him "the Bengali builders being brick layers rather than stone masons had learnt to use the radiating arch whenever it was useful for constructive purpose long before the Muhammadans came there". *(Indian Architecture,* p. 56*)*.

1 I regret to note that in my previous Paper on the Antiquities of Khari this temple was not correctly described.

Recently the excavation of the famous temple at Paharpur has revealed a vaulted passage. The bricks of it were laid vertically with slight inward curvature so as to form a true vault as in the artificial cave in Nalanda. This discovery has led Mr. K. N. Dikshit to write as follows :

"The growing volume of evidence from excavations now renders it necessary to revise the old notions about the knowledge and use of the true or radiating arch and vault in pre-Muhammadan times. It would be more in accordance with the ascertained facts to say that the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain builders showed a marked preference for the trabeated or corbelled form and that the radiating arch and true vault were not unknown to them although rarely employed" *(A. R. A. S. I,* for 1927-28, p. 107*)*.

About fifty feet to the west of the temple described above, the dry bed of a tank with embankments on its sides have been discovered in the midst of the jungles. The foundations of a few brick-built rooms, a large number of bricks, potsherds, and human bones with three skeletons were also unearthed to the south-east of the temple in the course of the digging work, undertaken by the men of the Zemindar of the plot for the purpose of raising an embankment on the bank of the Jaggadal Gang.

About eight miles to the north-west of the temple of Bonshamnagore lies lot no. 114 under the Mathurapur P. S. Some years ago during the clearance of the jungles a brick mound was discovered here on the eastern bank of the Gobadia Gang in plot no. 8. The excavation of this mound, undertaken by the lessee of the plot, also brought to light the remains of another ancient temple (Figure 6). This structure has suffered complete ruin and the *garbhagṛiha* alone now remains intact. It faces the west and is square-shaped, each side measuring 6 feet 6 inches. The floor of this *garbhagṛiha* is about 5 feet below the sill of the doorway and can be reached by a descending flight of steps. A Śiva Liṅga of sand-stone, about 3 feet high, stands insitu in its centre. This image has no Gauripaṭṭa and rises directly from the earth like the early Liṅga images. Mr. Shama Charan Nanda of Midnapur, the present owner of the plot, has built a room over the *garbhagṛiha* with bricks collected from the ruins and also made arrangements for worship of the Śiva Liṅga.

LOT No. 114. GOVINDA-PORE.

To the north of the *garbhagṛiha* a brick-built *tīrthakuṇḍa,* rectangular in size, has also been discovered. The architectural features of one of its sides bear affinity to those found on the early temples.

Four Vishnu images of black shale each with four hands, as also an image of Naṭarāja of the same material were unearthed from the ruins of this temple during the excavation. Those sculptures are now kept within the *garbhagṛiha.* The height of one of the Vishnu images is 4 feet and that of the two other 3′ 4″ each, while the fourth one is 3′ 2″ in height. The Naṭarāja image is 3′ 2″ in height and has ten hands. The foremost of them on the right is in *varada* pose, while the others hold a sword, a trident, a drum, and a thunderbolt respectively. Similarly the foremost hand on the left indicates a dancing attitude, and the remaining four are seen holding a club, a snake, a shield and a human skull respectively. The image wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* on the head and a sacred thread along with some ornaments on the body. Hanging from the neck and descending upto the knees there is a garland, to the lower part of which are suspended ten severed human heads. On both sides of the Naṭarāja there are figurines of the attendants of the god Śiva. Two of them are dancing and playing on musical instruments on both sides of the bull. The figure at the top on the left hand side is that of Ganesa. The bull carrying the god on its back dances, too, with its head raised aloft towards his master, who is also dancing in trance (Figure 7).

From the 259th chapter of the *Matsya Purāṇa* we understand that such an image may have four, eight, twelve or sixteen hands.

The number of Naṭarāja images hitherto found in Bengal is not very considerable. A few were previously discovered only in the districts of Dacca, Chittagong and Tipperah. In some of them the god has ten hands, while in some, twelve hands, but as in that of Govindapur, he is depicted in all of them as dancing on the back of the bull carrying him (*A. R. A. S. I,* for 1924-25, plate XXXVI, fig e. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 110-116).

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, who has discussed the *Kurmapurāna* relating to Śiva's dance, says "To a Sivaite the dance of Śiva symbolises his philosophy as well as his religion. His philosophy conceives a Supreme Being, who while Himself unmoved moves all things mundane. In the description of

the image of Naṭarāja in the *Matsya Purāṇa,* it is said that while performing the dance the countenance of the god should wear the appearance of perfect calmness. Śiva is a *Yogin,* that is to say, he is one who has subdued his passions and impulses, withdrawn his mind from all external things, and concentrated it in the contemplation of the Absolute. The higher religion of the Śivaite enjoins him to practise Yoga, that is to say, self-control, and concentration of mind on the divine essence, while carrying on his duty as a man of the world. In the image of Naṭarāja, the Indian artist endeavours to create a *Yogī* with super human attributes, such as plurality of hands engaged in dancing, and in certain cases achieves wonderful success. In the best images of Naṭarāja we meet with the expression of the spirit of calm contemplation on the face and the movement of the rythmic dance in the body symbolising the procession of the cosmos" *(A. R. A. S. I,* for 1924-25, p. 127).

Though the limbs of the Naṭarāja image I found at Govindapur are not shapely, its face is a fine one and reflects the expression of the bliss of communion with the Absolute

PATHARPRATIMA E PLOT, RAKSHASAKHALI, F PLOT, BURARTAT, G PLOT ; AND LOTHIAN ISLAND.

Many other images, terra cottas, and brick mounds have also been discovered at Patharpratima, E plot, Rakshasakhali, F plot, Burartat, G plot and Lothian island, which are situated bordering the Bay of Bengal on the south of lot no. 114 and H plot. I wish to describe them in detail in another paper and at present propose to notice here two images only.

One of them is a fine image of Buddha in *bhumisparśa mudrā* (Figure 8), and the other a terracotta figure. The Buddha image is 5½ inches high and made of octo-alloy. It was unearthed by a farmer while digging a ditch near his house at Patharpratima. This image shows affinity to the Buddha image discovered in Chittagong (Plate LVII, fig. d., *A. R. A. S. I,* for 1927-28) and furnishes a clue to the fact that in the mediaeval age Buddhism also flourished in this remote part of the Gangetic delta side by side with Brahmanism and Jainism. Late Babu Suresh Chandra Datta of Usti also reported that another stone image of Buddha was discovered a few years ago at Raidighi, lot no. 24 *(V. R. S. Monographs* no. 3, "Antiquities of Khari"). But unfortunately it is not traceable now.

The terra-cotta figure is a unique one and was discovered in river erosion on the back of the Satamukhi Nadi in G plot. It appears to be a votive offering in some form of tree worship that was once in vogue in this country.

This figure consists of a pillar-like representation, evidently the trunk of a tree, resting on a pedestal, as the engraved design of a sprig on one of its sides shows it to be, with an image of a female devotee depicted as sitting at the foot of the tree in a peculiar attitude of supplication.

The Mainamati Copper-plate of Ranavankamalla Harikaladeva : 1141 Saka.

Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M. A., Chittagong.

This copperplate was discovered towards the end of the year 1803 "in digging earth for the repair of the highway through the Maināmati hills", about 5 miles to the west of the town of Comilla, in the district of Tippera. It was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mr. Elliot, the then Judge-Magistrate of Tippera. The plate unfortunately has long disappeared from the collection of the Society. The inscription was deciphered and published by the celebrated orientalist Mr. H. T. Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX (1807), pp. 401-406, with an indifferent facsimile, which is the only material now available for the record. It was reprinted with the facsimile in Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 241-46.

This is a single plate engraved on one side only. Colebrooke gives the following description of it : "The plate measures eleven inches in height and nine in breadth ...... The sides have a gentle curvature and at top is an abrupt bend allowing room to a figure coarsely delineated and apparently intended to represent a temple." (Cf. the description of the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara, *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 318). The delineation probably constituted

the emblem of the Royal dynasty. The inscription consists of 24 lines and the characters are evidently proto-Bengali. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of the last three lines where the date of the record is given the entire inscription is in verse. It contains nine stanzas employing 6 different metres, e. g. Mandākrāntā, Vasantatilaka, Drutavilambita, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Anuṣṭubh and Mālinī. As regards ORTHOGRAPHY the only things noticeable are the spelling of the word *saṁvvat* with the **चन्द्रविन्दु** in place of *m* and the retention of the final *m* before the letter *p* with which it is joined in '*maṇḍanam=panditānam*' (l. 2) and before *m* in '*aniśam=mānase*' (l. 3). The *avagraha* is used in lines 11, 14 and 23.

The inscription opens, rather abruptly, with a laudatory stanza in praise of one **'Hedi-eba'**, whose son **'Sri Dhadi-eba'** is eulogised abundantly in 3 elegant verses. The latter was a chief minister of a famous king **Ranavankamalla** (v. 5) and held the office of a *Mahāśvanibandhika*, a title which is not met with elsewhere. *Aśvanibandhika* literally means a groom ; but a *Mahāśvanibandhika* who happens also to be a 'chief minister' (*amātyatilaka*) probably denotes here a civil officer in charge of the Royal Horse ; for, there is hardly any reference to military skill in the elaborate panegyries of this officer. The inscription records a grant of lands measuring 20 *droṇas* in a village named **Bejakhanda** in favour of a Buddhist Monastery (*vihāra*) built in the city of **Pattikera** (v. 6). From v. 8 it is clear that the gift of land was made not by the sovereign monarch nor by a vassal but expressly by the *Aśvanibandhika*, to whose mouth is put the usual address to the future kings. The writer of the record, one **Medini-eba**, makes no secret of the fact (in v 9) that the inscription is in nature of a *praśasti* of a (private) family (of officers) to which probably he himself belonged The description and the boundaries of the lands are not given in the record which fortunately, unlike other records of Bengal, is very clearly dated in the Śaka year 1141 and the 17th regnal year of King **Harikaladeva,** Phālguna 26. The wording of this date clearly shows that the actual name of the king was **Harikala** and **Ranavankamalla** was his *viruda*. Dr. Kielhorn calculated that this date (corresponding to Feb. 19, 1220 A. D.) coincides with the auspicious *tithi Purṇimā*, which probably occasioned the gift. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 107).

The inscription thus fortunately preserves the name of a monarch of the ancient kingdom of **Pattikera** who came to the throne in the year 1203-4 A. D. Colebrooke gave a wrong reading of verse 6 and failed to decipher the important reference to the city of **Pattikera,** which was first correctly given by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum *(Dacca Review* 1921-22 p. 142, *Iconography* p. 11). We have to make a slight improvement in Mr. Bhattasali's reading of the line in question. The metre requires a long syllable in the 3rd letter ; so the reading cannot either be *'Durgottaro'* or *'dugottarā'* (accompanied by forts), but is clearly *'durgottārā'* (excelling a fort). The phrase *'dugottārā-vihārī'* may better be taken as one word meaning 'a *vihāra* dedicated to the Goddess Durgottārā', *i. e.* a form of Tārā named in the *Sādhanamālā* as 'Durgottārinī-Tārā (*Sādhanamālā,* Vol. I, p. 237-8). While correctly making out that the inscription 'appears not to be a grant by the sovereign' Colebrooke was clearly wrong in surmising that it was "a memorial of the grant recorded by the possessor, who must have been the heir of the grantee and who seems to acknowledge in this place (v. 9) the liberality of the grantor's successors continuing the land to him." *(Misc. Essays,* Vol. II, p. 246 note).

The city of **Pattikera** was apparently situated somewhere in the Lalmai and Mainamati Hills where the plate was discovered and gave the name to an important *pargana* in the district of Tippera, still known as Pāṭikārā or Pāiṭkārā which extends up to the same Hills, though the Hills themselves now fall under a separate *pargana* named Meherakula. In older documents of the 18th century the name of the pargana occurs regularly as either 'Pāṭikerā' and Pāiṭkerā', leaving no room for any doubt on the identification. The village **Bejakhanda** cannot be definitely identified now. The late Babu Kailaschandra Sinha (in the *Rājamālā*) wrongly read the name as *Ijakhaṇḍa* and suggested its identification with a village *Māijkhāḍ* in *pargana* Mahichail, a few miles to the west of the Lalmai Hills. There is a village Bejabāḍi near the feet of the Hills on the west which may be the village referred to in the plate.

The extraordinary nature of the three names of the grantor **'Dhadi-eba',** his father **'Hedi-eba'** and the writer **'Medini-eba,'** all apparently belonging to the same family deserves more than a passing notice. Though the names have, no doubt, been more or less Sanskritised in the hands of the writer of fairly good

Sanskrit verses, they clearly preserve their foreign origin in the unique appelative *'eva'* or *'eba'* found in all the three names which is entirely unknown in any Indian dialect as far as we know. It should be noticed that in none of the three names there is any room for any doubt on the reading and we are tempted to hazard the conjecture that here we have evidence of a respectable family of Arakanese or Burmese origin which settled and survived in the 13th century A. D. in the district of Tippera. For, *'ba'* and *'ya-ba'* (modified to *'e-ba'*) are not difficult to trace in Burmese names even now. The inscription may, therefore, be regarded as corroborating in a peculiar manner the intercourse between the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā and Burma as recorded in the Burmese chronicles. The identification of the "Pateikkara" of Burmese chronicles with Paṭikārā of the Tippera district, though put forth in the local history of Tippera *(Rājamālā)* more than 35 years ago, attracted the serious attention of Burmese scholars only recently *(Report Arch. Sur. of Burma,* 1923, p. 32). This identification is sufficiently corroborated by the position of the kingdom as given in the Burmese accounts. The vast kingdom of king Anoratha (1044-77 A. D.) of Pagan who "made a progress through the western portion of his dominions as far as Bengal" (Phayre : *Hist. of Burma* p. 37) was bounded *on the west* by the 'foreign' kingdom of "Pateikkara" *(Report,* 1923 p. 31). The celebrated love romance of a Prince of Pateikkara with the only daughter of King Kyanzittha (1081-1112 A. D.), which forms the subject of one or two poems and is acted on the stage upto now, rests according to the best authority 'upon a solid foundation of fact' *(Ibid.* p. 32). The healthy intercourse between the two kingdoms was kept up by the next king Alaungsitthu (1112-87 A. D.) who undoubtedly had as one of his queens a 'Pateikkara' princess *(Ibid.* 1922, p. 61, cf. Phayre, p. 40). King Narathu (1187-91) who killed this foreign princess with his own hand was in his turn murdered by desperados sent by the king of Pateikkara for revenge. The event took place according to the latest chronology in the year 1189 or 1191 A. D. not more than 15 years before the accession to the throne of Ranavaṅkamalla who was very likely the immediate successor of the king who caused the death of Narathu. The Arakanese version of the same story *(Report,* 1922, p. 61) vouches for the fact that the king of Pattikera sought for social communication also with the kings of Arakan and Tambadipa.

All these references prove by implication that the kingdom of Pattikera was a powerful one of considerable dimensions, far exceeding the narrow limits of the small *pargana* that now preserves its name. And the migration of a few Burmese families at the court of this king is nothing incompatible with its social and political intercourse with Burma covering a period of more than a century.

Text.

1 ॐ [1] तस्मिन्नुर्व्वैरमलिनकुले विश्वविख्यातकीर्त्ति (र्) विद्याधारः परमसुकृ-
2 ती मण्डनम्पण्डितानाम् [।*] ख्यातः श्रीमानजनि स महान् हेडिप्वाभिधानो यस्य
3 स्वच्छे व्यचरदनिशम्मानसे धर्म्म हंसः ॥ [1*] तस्मादभूदमलकीर्त्तिकलावितानः ॥[2]
4 श्रीमानमात्यतिलको मनुजामलेन्दुः [।*] दृष्टा[3] शशी तमिति[4] यस्त्वुटि वृद्धिशाठ्या-
5 ल्लज्जारुजी[5] =श्वयथुमानिव संविभाति ॥ [2*] अविरहात् स महाश्वनिवन्धिकः परम-
6 तत्तमहत्तमधिष्ठितः[6] [।*] रुचिररीतिषु नीतिषु गीष्पतिः सहजधम्मसु[7] कर्म्मसु
7 शोभते ॥ [3*] दानध्यानमहोदधिः प्रविचलच्चित्तैककारागृह[8] स्तप्तास्वादतृषा-
8 मयः कतिदयाधारः परप्राणिनां [।*] धर्म्मस्यातुलकेलिसद्म सुकृती गुर्त्तैकयो-
9 गीश्वरः सोयंश्रीधडिप्व एक उदभूदानन्दचन्द्रो भुवि ॥ [4*] यस्यैवाश्वनिवन्धि-
10 कोयमभवत् क्षौणीन्द्रचूड़ामणे स्तस्य श्रीरणवङ्कमल्लनृपतेर्लीलापि लोको—
11 त्तरा [।*] आक्रामद्भिरितस्ततस्त्रिजगतीं यत्तद्यशोभिः सितैः प्रासादेऽपि नि—
12 जे सहस्रनयनो जाता[9] वनीनामितः ॥ [5*] दुर्गोत्तारा-विहारी रुचिरविर—

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1 Expressed by the usual symbol, which C. reads as श्री.

2 Omit the sign of *virāma* here.

3 Read दृष्ट्वा.

4 This reading is obscure in meaning. Perhaps 'समिति यं त्रुटि' is the reading intended. Here as well as in line 7 below a final *m* seems to be joined with a followidg *t*.

5 Read रुजा

6 Read—तत्त्व महत्त्व-

7 Read—धर्म्मसु

8 Read—गृहं तता

9 Read—जातोऽवनी-नामितः। C. reads—जातानुलीनायितः

13 चिता पट्टिकेरा-नगर्य्यां[10] येय (ं) धम्मस्य[11] कामं मुकुटविरचनाप्रक्रियेवाति—

14 भाति [।*] ग्रामेऽस्यै वेजखण्डे निजसरलहृदा विंशतिद्रोणभूमिर्दत्ताचन्द्रा-

15 र्कमास्तामतिविमलयशः शस्यसम्यककृषिश्च ॥ [6*] युक्तस्तदस्य कीर्त्ते (रृ)

16 यत् सर्व्वत्र भवति भ्रमः [।*] दत्ता दक्षिणचित्ते न चतुःसीमेति भूः स्वयम् ॥ [7*] इं-

17 हो वोधत भाविभूमिपतयो यत्ताम्रपत्राङ्कुरं युष्मानश्वनिवन्धि-

18 कोयमधुना कृत्वाञ्जलिं याचते [।*]पाल्याभूमिरियं न वा कतिपयद्रोणे-[12]

19 न राज्यस्थितिर्धिग्दैन्यं विधवेव सा वसुमती यस्या लघीयान् पतिः ॥ [8*]

20 सहजगुणमहिम्ना यद्यपीयं स्वभावादतिविलसति गुप्तावंशजानं।

21 प्रशस्ति [।*]-र्विमलकुलगुणौघै (र्) गाढ़माकृष्यमाणः प्रकटयति तदित्थं

22 मेदिनीषव एषः ।०। । [9*] शकनृपतेरतीता अब्दाः '११४१' रणवङ्क-

23 मल्ल-श्रीमत्हरिकालदेव-पादाना (ं) सप्तदशसम्वत्सरेऽभिलिख्य-

24 माने यत्नाङ्कनापि सँव्वत्[13] १७ सूर्य्यगत्या फाल्गुण[14] दिने २६ [॥*]

Translation.

(Verse 1). In that [1] (famous) and highly pure family was born the great and glorious (person) named **Hedi-e-ba** having a world-renowned fame, a master of sciences, very meritorious and the ornament of the learned, in whose pure heart as in the clear waters of the *Mānasa* lake roamed incessantly the swan-like *Dharma* (i. e. Buddhist Faith).

(Verse 2). From him was born the glorious ornament of ministers, the spotless Moon among men, a part of whose pure fame served as his canopy ; seeing whom in a contest (for beauty) the moon under the guile of waning and waxing, looks as it were suffering from dropsy (caused) by the malady of shame.

(Verse 3). That great commander of the cavalry (?), ever enjoying the greatness of the Supreme Truth and a veritable Vṛihaspati in the charming courses of the science of Politics, shines in (the performance) of religious duties of the *Sahaja* cult (2).

10 C. reads—पट्टिकेवानगय्याः

11 Read—धर्म्मस्य

12 C. reads—द्रोहेन

13 Read—सम्वत्

14 C. reads—तुल-दिने

1. The word 'tasmin' used here without the correlative (yad) means 'famous'.

2. There seems to be a reference here to the SAHAJA-YANA professed by the family.

(Verse 4). The great ocean of charities and austerities, the one prison-house for the fickle-minded, full of flavour and avidity unto the afflicted, how very compassionate over the creatures, the inimitable pleasure-house of *Dharma*, righteous in deeds and a lord of asceties in private, **Sri-Dhadi-e-ba** arose as the one moon of delight on the earth.

(Verse 5). The charms also of that crest-jewel of Monarchs, King **Rana-vankamalla,** of whom he was the commander of cavalry, were extra-ordinary; for, by his white renown attacking all the three worlds hither and thither, the thousand-eyed God (Indra) even in his own palace came to .be flung down on earth.

(Verse 6). A Buddhist monastery (vihārī) dedicated to the Goddess *Durgottārā* (was) handsomely built in the city of **Pattikera** and looks very much like effecting the formation of a crown for *Dharma* ; let the 20 *Dronas* of land in the village **Bejakhanda** given with his own honest mind for that monastery sustain as long as the Sun and Moon exist, along with his holy renown and a husbandry accompanied by rich harvest.

(Verse 7). It is only proper that his renown wanders about every where, because he has himself with an open heart given lands with four boundaries.

(Verse 8). Ho ! future monarchs ! mark this copperplate. This commander of the cavalry now implores you with folded hands, this land should be maintained (by you). The stability of a kingdom is not effected by a few *Dronas* of land. Fie upon such meanness ! For, earth becomes like a widow when Her Lord happens to be mean.

(Verse 9). Though the brightness of the descendants of this family ([3]) naturally shines forth under the protection of its inherent virtues yet does **Medini-e-ba** attracted by the multitudes of qualities of that pure family thus announce it.

The expired years of the Śaka king **'1141'** in 17th (regnal) year of the glorious King **Harikeladeva** (surnamed) **Ranavankamalla** (lit. the hero in bends of battles) ; written also in figures as *Samvat* 12, the 26th day of Phālguna by solar calculation.

3. It is not unlikely that the actual name of the family, which would remain otherwise unrecorded, is **GUPTA**, which can be read also in the phrase 'Guptaika-yogisvarah' in v. 4 above (the one lord of ascetics among the **GUPTAS**).

A short Catalogue of some aboriginal Rites and Customs from Chutia Nagpur,

Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M. A., B. L.

India possesses many tracts in which there are yet un-trodden fields of ethnological study. They are still inhabited by aboriginal races who have not changed as yet from their primitive habits and customs indicative of the nature of primitive struggles for life. I was early attracted even as a casual sojourner by the materials which exist in the tract covered by the districts of Mānbhum and Rānchi As Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray of Rānchi is now the recognised authority regarding those places and their aboriginal inhabitants, I approached him and received from him valuable suggestions regarding some notes I made on the subject. These notes only go to show what a rich field lies before the Indian youngmen, with little exertion and good direction they can add considerably to our ethnological knowledge. And my paper is an appeal to them in that direction.

The customs and rites of some of the aboriginal tribes of Chutianagpur present many attractive features to an Ethonologist. Because the traces of survival of early conditions of culture in later times are generally found in rituals, customs and folklores prevalent among the people who are still in their primitive stage of life. Although some of the rituals observed by these people who correspond to those of Bengal to some extent, yet most of them are unique in their manner of observance. Some of the rites which resemble those observed in Bengal are known to have been adhered to by the people who are lower in caste scale.

With the aboriginal tribes of Chutianagpur almost every month of the year is associated with certain customs and rituals. In the month of Chaitra corresponding to March-April the primitive people of Chutianagpur on the last day of the month celebrate the "Bhoktā ceremony." A long pole is erected on the ground and the man who would perform feats thereon has to fast for one whole day and night. Now the man scrambles right up to the top of the

pole and his skin is perforated and fastened to a hook hanging from the pole. Being hooked thus he goes on swinging in the air to the merriment of the sight-seers below. This cruel practice reminds one of the Charak Puja of Bengal which has been already abolished. The fact that many of the barbarities connected with this ceremony have dropped in practice augers well for the future

The month of Jaistha is particularly characterised by the celebration of the "*Rohan Parab,*" On the 13th day of the month, the festival takes place, (and in the observance of the ceremony, ducks, goats and pigeons are sacrificed before the deity.) A particular site is selected and set apart for all time so that the festivity may take place on the same spot every year The selected spot has to be washed clean and smeared with cow dung. One of the members of the family has to do the priestly function and worship a Tulshi plant. Again a "Sidh" plant has got to be transplanted by its side before the offerings are made to both of them simultaneously. The sacrifice of ducks, goats and pigeons are made before the serpent deity MANASHĀ. But before the actual worship of the deity or when the offerings are being made some one of the family has to go out with two and a half hand-fulls of grain to sow the seed on the agricultural field held by him in his possession. These ceremonies are strictly observed by the Kurmi-Māhātos, Bāuri, Bāgdi Hāṛis, and other people who are generally lower in caste scale in the Chutianagpur Districts. It is said, that even some of the Brāhmins of the locality also sometimes offer their respective pigeons, ducks or goats and allow them to be sacrificed before the diety by these people with a view to acquire merit and prosperity.

For the month of Āshāḍ, corresponding to June and July they have no special ceremony of their own and the festival they take part during this month is celebrated through-out Bengal and Orissa also. This festival is commonly known as the "*Ratha-Jāṭrā*" or the Car Festival. The car festival is celebrated with pomp and eclāt in the holy land of Jagarnāth (Puri) and in other lands such as Bengal where the cult of Visnu worship has been prominent and has a good number of adherents.

Next on the last day of the month of *Srābʌn* these people worship the serpent deity Manashā. Ducks, goats and pigeons are sacrificed at the altar of the Deity. The ceremony is almost a prototype of the '*Rohan Parab*' as observed

by them in the month of Jaistha but the difference in the "modus- operendi" is, that they do not go out to the fields to sow the seeds as on the former occasion. But those people who know the art of siezing snakes, capture them and amuse themselves for four or five days together and eventually as they finish the display they let the snakes off and do not deliver them up to any snake-charmer lest they should be molested.

On the 11th day after the new moon in the month of Bhādra corresponding to August—September, a festive occassion styled as "Karam Pujā" or more popularly known as "KARAM DHARAM PUJA" is celebrated. The land lord of the locality has a branch of the 'Karam Tree' planted and deputes a brahmin to worship it. This is followed by a revelry in the night characterised by a bacchanalian dance and riotous orgies.

Then again on the last day of the month of Bhādra another important function known as the "Chchātā Parab" or the umbrella festival takes place. This is otherwise known as "Ind Parab"—a corruption of *'Indra Pujah'*, an ancient Indian festival. On the day of the celebration, the villagers assemble together on a spacious ground under the shade of a mighty Banian or some other big tree. A long pole of unusual size is erected and a golden top resembling an umbrella is attached to the long pole thus erected. This is supplied generally by the land lord of the locality. A fair is held on the spot but the pole with the miniature umbrella is kept on there throughout the night, and is watched by the Chawkidar (or village watch-man) or other guards deputed for the purpose. The purpose of such a ceremony is, that it would help to yield a bumper crop for the year.

On a particular dark night (Krishhāstami Day) in the month of (Āsvin) "Jitāparab" is celebrated in which Jitabāhan Thākur is worshipped. The mode of celebrating this occasion is to plant three, seven, or nine i. e. (odd) pieces of sugar cane in any one of the houses of the village and worship them. From each of the houses one or more who would be willing to offer a prayer or worship must keep fasting for a day. There is a superstition with regard to a breach in the continuity of this ceremony. One having commenced the observance must not cease to worship it lest one of the members of the family should suffer death. On the contrary again if any one happens to die

in the same house-hold on the very day of its celebration the family would never worship it until a fresh birth occurs in that house at the time of the celebration of the same festival.

Even the birth of a calf during the occasion would give him the chance of a revival of the festival. The general rule is that once it is commenced it must get on without a breach in its continuity, for the common belief is that the failure in its continuance might bring in the visitation of a misfortune in the family.

In the month of Kartik corresponding to (October and November) the goddess Kāli is worshipped as in Bengal, on the Diwali day. But the ceremonials observed by these people on this occasion differ in some respects from that of Bengal. The people would go about singing in honour of cows and would thus keep up the whole night. Bands of singers would go about from door to door to beg pit̤hā (or cakes) or coins as the case may be. And the money thus secured helps them to indulge in drinking on the "Kārākhontā day" which takes place soon after the celebration. The special custom attached to it is to light up a lamp fed with ghee (clarified butter) in the cow-shed on this occasion.

On the following day "Goraia" and "Gosāin Rāi Thākur" are the two characteristic deities worshipped specially by the Kurmis and other lower caste people. In the evening fowls and goats are sacrificed before a "Tulsi" plant and again in the cow-shed of the respective households on the same occasion. The woman of the households would go into the cow-shed and perform certain functions with the cows,—smearing their forehead with red-ochre and the horns with oil but the male member of the same household would do likewise with an ox. Last of all the fore-heads of the ox and cow are adorned with a sheaf of paddy arranged like a crown.

On the last day of the month of AGRAHĀYAN (December-January) Āskā cakes are prepared and the people feast on them merrily, and the similar ceremony is generally observed by the people of Bengal on the last day of Paus.

The last day of the month of Paus is characterised as the day when the people begin their respective duties afresh for the next year. This system of the ceremony is followed in Bengal too on the first day of Baisāk or on the

day next to the Bijayā or the immersion ceremony after the great Durgā Pujā Festival. In the Mānbhum District the people belonging to agricultural class generally follow this custom in their own peculiar way. Every agriculturist has to plough a portion of land on that particular day and unless it is done one can not get on with tillage throughout the year. Then again one must work with a spade on that specified day and at least should strike a heap of cowdung with the same spade twice over. The rites commence 5 days before the month is out. This is styled as "*ĀKHĀNJĀTRA*" on which day tillage and spade work have both to be performed. Each of the 5 days of the festivity is characterised by particular functions and cakes are also prepared on the occasion. The first day of the ceremony is observed by the washing and the cleansing operation of rice. The next day is followed by "GUNRIRDIN" or the day on which the same rice has to be powdered. The third day is known as "BĀUNRIRDIN" or the day when the cakes are finally prepared. Last of all the fourth day is styled as "MAKARDIN" or the day when ablution or river-bath has to be taken.

On the third day after the Dewāli, a peculiar custom is followed by these people. A number of buffaloes are tethered to their respective posts and are excited by a determined throw of a stuffed hide moulded into the shape of an animal on introducing a lot of straw within its hold. This sporting with the buffaloes are styled as "*KĀRĀKHONTĀ*." This particular festival bears some resemblance to a custom known as "*GOĀLLĀTHI*" prevalent in some of the districts of Bengal as well ; but here instead of buffaloes the cows or bulls as the case may be are sported in the same manner with a living boar as these people do with the stuffed hide resembling a boar.

The bull that puts the boar to rout and strikes it dead is made much of and its owner is made the head-man of the whole community to safe-guard its, whole interest in relation to its society, adminstration, religious solutions and other abnormal questions throughout the year. The spirit of the same custom has been noticed to survive among the Āhir Goālās in some of the districts of Bengal who perhaps immigrated into Bengal from Behar or U. P. sometime ago. There

*The details of these particular custom has been dealt with in an article I have the honour to publish in the "Journal of the Department of letters", (1927)published by the Calcutta University.

is a similar custom commonly known as SPANISH MATADOR" prevalent in Spain. So is it a survival from the times of the PROTO-MEDITERRANEAN* peoples here, as it is an IBERIAN custom in Spain ? Any way we are coming to realize gradually that even from stray customs it is very hard to insist on cultural or ethnic isolation of India.

The study of customs and manners in different places of India would give us an excellent food for thought and it may also arouse a speculative interest in the minds of people in ETHNOLOGICAL Studies. It is always hazardous though to speculate with any exactitude on an ethnic connection or ethnic isolation as the case may be, merely from the similarty of rituals and customs yet it must be remembered however, that there is still ample scope and utility for special investigation into the manners and customs of the aboriginal fragmants and other primitive communities who have still retained in them the glimpses of primitive culture.

The materials already available are fast disappearing owing to the present civilising influences and their frequent contact with the members of civilised communities of the world. "The pressing necessity therefore of instituting careful anthropological researches among the uncultured people is every day becoming more evident". For it is matter of common experience that "Relics of human culture whether they be the rude workmanship of PALAEOLITHIC MAN or the highly elaborate work-man-ship of the ancient Indians, Greeks, Romans, or Egyptians of old, which have been under the surface of the earth varying from one millenium to twenty milleniums may not suffer any material change if they are left undisturbed for another century or two. But the "fossils of ANTHROPOLOGISTS" if I may use the term "are living organisms" and they are fast disappearing or becoming so changed by contact or crossing with the higher forms of humanity that their value as fossils tends to be lost. Some physical characteristics doubtless show a wonderful persistence and afford to mainly give a permanent value to the study of physical anthropology. In many parts of the world, the customs of the primitive tribes are undergoing rapid changes. Many of the primitive religious ceremonies of the MUNDĀS, ORĀONS, SĀNTĀLS and the like have already disappeared and are disappearing by contact with the European Missionaries. "People rejoice at the progress

of civilisation, the ANTHROPOLOGIST feels that the dark uncivilised tracts on earth are precisely those places most likely to throw light upon problems of the pre-historic past." All cultural phenomena, be they myths, beliefs, institutions, tools, dwellings, or weapons must have originated in some definite area and have spread over a long distance. Each community bears the mark of a series of cultural deposits and the problem therefore is to investigate these deposits and cultural groups to determine their succession and the direction from which they have come.

A very rare work on Sanskrit Prosody, not found elsewhere but imperfectly preserved in the Library of the Varendra Research Society.

Dhires Chandra Acharyya Sastri, M A., P. R. S.

The छन्दोमखान्त of पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट is a manual of Sanskrit metrics. It is not found elsewhere, but an imperfect Ms. of the book is preserved in our Library. Although only 18 leaves are to be found here, it is estimated that about half of the book is preserved thereby. It is a pity that the complete book has not yet been found. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogarum* does not take any notice of the book, indeed so far our searches go, no second copy of the book is available. But even the imperfect and incomplete copy of the book has some value. In this paper, I shall try to show some of its importance.

The date of the book can be surmised from the fact that our author is the teacher of गङ्गादास the compiler of the famous छन्दोमञ्जरी where in it is said "श्वेतमाण्डव्यमुख्यास्तुमुनयो नेच्छन्ति यतिम्। इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः॥" It is a very curious thing (though not very rare) in the history of literature that the work of गङ्गादास who has only copied out from the works of his predecessors including that of his guru, has become so famous, while the book of his guru is preserved not even in Mss But however that may be the date of छन्दोमञ्जरी has not been fixed with any certainty. The quotations in Mallinath's commentaries do not show clearly whether they are from छन्दोमञ्जरी or from Kedar Bhatta's

वृत्तरत्नाकर, for the author of छन्दोमञ्जरी has also largely drawn from Kedar Bhatta's work. But it is likely (nay almost certain) that the quotations in Mallinath's commentaries are from वृत्तरत्नाकर and even other older works. But in the very beginning of छन्दोमञ्जरी there is a stanza which explains technical terms or abbreviations of छन्दःशास्त्र (viz. मयरसतजभन). If this stanza of छन्दोमञ्जरी be the composition of the author himself. for it is not found in other current works on Prosody, it may be taken hold of as a land mark. This wellknown stanza ("मस्त्रि गुरुस्त्रि लघुश्चनकारोभादि गुरुः पुनरादिलघुर्यः। जो गुरुमध्यगतोरलमध्यः सोऽन्त गुरुः कथितोऽन्तलघुस्तः॥") is quoted in the commentary of *Vrittaratnakara,* known as वृत्तरत्नाकर पञ्जिका by the famous Ramchandra Kavibharati of Gauḍa, who migrated to Ceylon in the reign of Parakramabahu. The commentary was written by Ramchandra Kavibharati in the beginning of the 15th century. So it seems that 14th century is the latest date of छन्दोमञ्जरी। Again छन्दोमञ्जरी quotes a stanza from Jayadeva as not observing the rules of metrical pause. This stanza is quoted in such a way that it seems Jayadeva was his contemporary. But पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट in similar and other occasions does not refer to Jayadeva, although he might have quoted Jayadeva with propriety at least in the section on गीतवृत्त or songs. From this it may be surmised that Jayadeva's work was not known to पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट। From this we may conclude that the earliest date that can be assigned to पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट is the latter part of the 12th century, he was only slightly earlier than Jayadeva for his pupil गङ्गादास was familiar with Jayadeva's work. Another alternative theory may be put forward. पुरुषोत्तम like his pupil गङ्गादास was familiar with the poems of or songs of Jayadeva, but as a rival poet he has not thought it worth while to quote any of his poems. For पुरुषोत्तम was also a very good poet, among other works he has written a drama called भानुमतीपरिणय and a book of miscellaneous poems. Moreover he has written songs very like those of Jayadeva in praise of Siva Parvati. The following may be quoted as a specimen of his poetry :—

सहचरि दर्शय तमतुल मत्त स्वप्न समागम मोहित चित्तम् (ध्रु) ॥
अविरत मुकुलित लोचन मालं दीपशिखालसदीत्तगणभारम्। १।
स्फटिक मनोहर गौरशरीरं प्रकटातटविगलितनीरम् ॥ २।
भालविभूषणहिमकर खण्ड कुण्डलि कुण्डल मण्डित गण्डम् ॥ ३।

शृङ्गडमरुकरमतुलविराजं विधिहरिसेवित चरण सरोजम् ॥ ४ ।
शृणु पुरुषोत्तमभणितमुदारं प्रभुरपि कलयति विविध विकारम् ॥ ५ ।

But it is a pity that his works have been destroyed by the ravages of time. His poetry can certainly rival that of Jayadeva but while the writings of Jayadeva spread at once over the whole of India, those of पुरुषोत्तम have almost vanished even from their birthplace. From the fragment preserved in our Library, we do not find any account of the author, except that he was a Brahmin and a devotee of Śiva and His family, and that he wrote his work in old age. He begins his work by the following beautiful verse :—

आलम्ब्य लम्बोदर विम्बमन्तः
श्रीशम्भुपादाम्बुज भृङ्ग मूर्द्ध्नि ।
छन्दोमखान्तं द्विज सत्तमेन
विधीयते श्रीपुरुषोत्तमेन ॥

And he writes elsewhere thus :—

भगवति मामनुकम्पयदीनं रोगजरातुलनककुलाकुलभवमयसागरलीनम् ॥
दरदलितारुणपङ्कज कुटमल कुहर सुरुचि ते चरणम् ।
राकाशशधर मधुरिम नखतति रधिशेते नतशरणम् ॥

&c.

If it be true that he flourished in the reign of Lakshanasena, he was not favoured by royal patronage. While his rival Jayadeva was basking in the sunshine of royal favour, he was struggling with disease and old age. His poverty and secluded life may partly account for the disappearance of his work. His pupil Gaṅgādāsa has copied much from the work of his guru and has taken from him the hint that illustrations of metres should consist of laudatory stanzas of one's *iṣṭa deva* or favourite deity. For पुरुषोत्तम has said

इहकतिन कवीनामासते सन्निवन्धा वयमपि कवितां स्वामीशनङ्गांविदध्मः ।
अपिसुतनुरलङ्कारादिभिर्निष्कलङ्काप्रभुपरिचयरिक्ता साहिरिकाङ्गनेव ॥

Taking the hint from his teacher, Gaṅgādāsa has made the following prophecy with regard to the popularity of his work, which has been abundantly fulfilled. इयमच्युत लीलाढ्या सद्वृत्ता जातिशालिनी ।
छन्दसां मञ्जरी कान्ता सभ्यकण्ठेलगिष्यति ॥

Now I shall conclude this paper by enumerating some of the points of importance of the work of पुरुषोत्तम। Although the work of गङ्गादास is very popular all over India, it is an incomplete manual of Sanskrit Prosody. It omits altogether the scientific and mathematical portion of Sanskrit metrics. But even the fragment at our disposal shows that पुरुषोत्तम did not fight shy of this important but abstruse portion of metrics. Moreover he has devoted a section of his book on गीतवृत्त or songs alluded to before. This point has not been touched in any of the existing treatises on sanskrit prosody. His treatment of उपजाति metre is fuller and clearer than that of any other known work. He has devised names for the 14 varieties of उपजाति and in this connection and in other places he has quoted from a work which is very important for the history of Sanskrit literature It is well known that Dandin composed three famous works. Of these two are known to all (काव्यादर्श and दशकुमारचरित) but the ascertainment of the third work has taxed the ingenuity and diligence of scholars for a long time and still it has not been settled with any certainty. Some indeed guessed that छन्दोविचिति is the third work, for Dandin observes in his काव्यादर्श, छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत् प्रपञ्चो निदर्शितः। But unfortunately the word छन्दोविचिति is ambiguous, it also means छन्दःशास्त्र in general and the work of पिङ्गल is often referred to as छन्दोविचिति and its भाष्य is called छन्दोविचिति भाष्य and the metricians are sometimes called छन्दोविचितिवेदिनः। So it was rightly doubted by some that छन्दोविचिति is the proper name of any work. So Prof. Keith observes,—"the view, that Dandin wrote on metre is uncertain." But the fragment of Purusottama's work settles this point. It has quoted several verses from a work छन्दोविचिति by name, which shows that it is the proper name of a work on metre. Thus we can with certainty say that छन्दोविचिति is the third work of Dandin.

We also find that छन्दोमरवान्त of पुरुषोत्तम represents an older school of metricians, the chief of whom are श्वेत माण्डव्य &c. The school itself, it seems lost influence and works of its representatives perished. So it is but natural that the work of भट्ट पुरुषोत्तम would meet the same fate.

Somapura—an ancient Buddhist monastery in Varendri.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., PH. D.

In the course of his now famous excavation of the Paharpur mound Mr. K. N. Dikshit the then Superintendent of Archaeology in the Eastern Circle unearthed a number of clayseals bearing the device of a wheel with two deer on either side and the legend *Śri=Somapure Śri=Dharmapāladeva=mahāviharīy-ārya-bhiksusamghasya* in characters of the 9th century. This discovery has conclusively proved the existence of a monastery in the Varendrī country bearing the honoured name of King Dharmapāla of Bengal. In the present paper it is proposed to throw some light upon this once famous monastery with the help of a few literary references that have survived down to our own times.

The references just mentioned occur in three Tibetan works, two of which written by the Lama Tāranātha have been translated into German under the titles *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* ('History of Buddhism in India') and *Edelsteinmine* ('Mine of precious stones') by Anton Schiefner and Albert Grünwedel respectively, while the third called *Pag sam Jan Zong* and written by Sumpa Khaupo Yese pal Jor has been published in the original Tibetan by the late Sarat Chandra Das. All these are late works, the last two being known to be completed in 1608 and 1747 A C. respectively. Nevertheless as they are professedly based upon Indian authorities they may safely be regarded as preserving genuine traditions coming down from ancient times.

The title of the monastery :—While the seal-legend above referred to definitely proves that the monastery of Dharmapāla was called Somapura, the Tibetan authors refer to a Somapuri vihāra. This is evidently an instance of their system of defective transliteration of Sanskrit names in Tibetan, which is illustrated by the substitution of Otantapuri' for 'Uddaṇḍapura', the name of a famous vihāra in Magadha attributed to Gopāla or Dharmapāla.

Its origin :—Both the Tibetan authors attribute the foundation of the Somapuri monastery to King Devapāla whom they describe as the son of Dharmapāla (*Geschicte.* p. 299, *Pag sam Jan Zong.* p. 111). Consistent with this

story is the fact that Tāranātha in his earlier work (*Edelsteinmine* p. 92) mentions in connection with the biography of an Āchārya called Buddhaśrījñāna how in his time the Vikramaśīla vihāra was newly built and the Somapurī vihāra was restored, while both along with the Nālandā and "Otantapuri" (Uddaṇḍapura) vihāras were consecrated by the saint under royal orders. This evidently implies that the Somapura vihāra was earlier in date than Vikramaśīla which, as we are aware, was founded by King Dharmapāla. Equally consistent with the above is the fact that Tāranātha, in describing the biography of the Āchārya Buddhaśrījñāna places him along with his guru Siṁhabhadra in the reign of King Dharmapāla (*Geschichte*. p. 219, *Edelsteinmine*. p. 292). Nevertheless the above account of the foudation of Somapura cannot be accepted as correct. The chronological scheme of the two Tibetan authors who make Dharmapāla the son of Devapāla is shown by the uncontestable evedence of the inscriptions to be false. What is more, we learn from a casual reference in the *Pag sam Jan Zong* (p. 111) that Bu-ston a famous Tibetan author who flourished in the early part of the fourteenth century still followed the correct chronological sequence, namely, Gopāla, his son Dharmapāla, and his grandson Devapāla. If the evidence of Tāranātha and his successor were to be our only guide, we would be left in doubt as regards the foundation of the Samapura vihāra. Happily the legend on the clay-seals that has been referred to above furnishes a decisive proof that the monastery was founded by King Dharmapāla.

Later History :—The Somapura vihāra never rose to the eminence of its great sister-monasteries of Nālandā, Uddaṇḍapura, and Vikramaśīla. There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that under the later Pāla kings it enjoyed its share of royal patronage and that some famous teachers were associated with it. Both the Tibetan authors introduce us to a very pious king called Mahāpāla who is said to be the son of King Mahīpāla. In this connection Tāranātha mentions (*Geschichte*. p. 230) how the king erected a few seats of learning in Nālanda and many other similar seats in Somapuri, Traikūṭakavihāra and the rest. The author of the *Pag Sam Jan Zong* observes in a more general way (p. 116) that King Mahāpala showed

his respect to the four exalted establishments at Vikramaśila, Nālanda, Somapuri, and Nalendra (sic)*. Sober history, which is based upon the sure foundation of the inscriptions, knows no King Mahāpāla son of Mahipāla. It mentions two Mahipālas of whom the first was succeeded by his son Nayapāla while the second was followed by his brother Rāmapāla. In these circumstances it is not possible to trace the identity of the king who became the benefactor of the Somapura *vihāra*.

We get another glimpse into the later history of the *vihāra* in the biographical account of an Āchārya called Ratnākaraśānti (briefly called Śānti) given by both the authorities (*Geschichte*. pp. 234 ff., *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 105 ff., *Pag sam Jan Zong*. p. 117). This Āchārya is said to have been born in a Brāhmana family, ordained as a monk at "Otantapuri" and studied Mahāyāna-sutras along with Tantras at Vikramaśila. Afterwards he accepted the invitation of the king of Ceylon and preached Mahāyāna Buddhism in the island. On his return he became the 'eastern-door' *pundit* at Vikramaśila, being one of a group of six great '*door-pundits*' who lived at this time. Further, he is said to have written commentaries on many Tantra collections. What specially concerns us here is to note that Tāranātha mentions in one place (*Edelsteinmine* p. 106) how the Āchārya after finishing his studies acted for several years as head of the Somapurī vihāra. The above account of Ratnākaraśānti may be taken to be substantially true to fact. But the defective chronology leaves us, as usual, completely in doubt regarding the period to which he belonged. In his earlier work (*Edelsteinmine* p. 107) Tāranātha quotes two opinions one of which makes the Āchārya the contemporary of king Mahipāla while the other makes him contemporaneous with a later king called Chaṇaka. Of these two opinions Tāranātha declares his preference for the latter. In his later work (*Geschichte*. p. 234) Tāranātha unhesitatingly places the Āchārya in the reign of king Chaṇaka. This king who is said to be the uncle and successor of Māhāpāla's son is of course a mythical figure. In view of this fact and of the general uncertainty of Pala chronology in the later Tibetan works, it is hopeless to expect any solution of the problem regarding the times when Ratnākaraśānti flourished.

* I owe this translation to the kindness of Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

Aghora-Rudra.

Niradbandhu Sanyal, M. A., B. L.

The existence before creation is designated Śiva by the Śaivas, Vāsudeva by the Vaishnavas, and Parabrahma by the Vedantins. It is described as unknowable in character, formless, limitless, unmanifest, with neither beginning nor end. This is the highest aspect of Śiva, in Śaiva philosophy : at the end of an aeon of *saṁhāra,* this *nishkala*-Śiva creates, by the force of His will, Parāśakti, and then Ādiśakti, Ichchhāśakti, Jñānaśakti, and Kriyāśakti, each evolving from the *śakti* that immediately precedes it. These five *śaktis,* in their turn, produce five *tattvas,* called Īśa, Īśāna, Brahmā, Īśvara and Sadāśiva, or Vāmadeva, Tatpurusha, Sadyojāta, Aghora and Īśāna, collectively known as the Pañchabrahmās. This is the account of the origin of the five aspects of Śiva, of which Aghora (*a-ghora.* 'non-terrific'), as shown above, is one[1].

In the *Rupamaṇḍana,* Aghora is classed with the eleven Rudras[2]. The rituals of His worship are described in detail in the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* and more than one Āgamas[3]. The merit accruing from it, it is said, destroys enormous sins, confers wealth and prosperity, and secures victory in war, as well as relief from mischiefs done by enemies, thieves, snakes. ghosts and malevolent planets[4].

According to these various purposes of worship, representations of Aghora differ in form and colour. Thus, it is stated in the *Sāradātilaka* : in *abhichāra* and *graha-śānti,* He is dark like rainy clouds ; in *vaśyavidhi,* He resembles the colour of the safflower (*kusumbha-saṁkāśa*) ; and in *mukti,* He is luminous like the moon[5]. The changes in His forms, according to the nature of particular rites, are very clearly explained by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his well-known commentary, the *Padārthādarśa,* and he quotes the following instances[6] :

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1. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* ii. pt. 2. pp. 361ff.
2. *Ibid,* p. 387.
3. *Ibid,* ii, pt. I. pp. 197ff. ; *Sāradātilaka,* Benares ed., ch xx. pp. 369-70.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Sāradātilaka,* ch. xx.
6. *Sāradātilaka,* ch. xx, Benares ed., p. 367 n.

(a) To conquer Death, Aghora should be visualised as a lovely child, one year and a half old, with a gentle, charming face and blue curly hair.

(b) To win wealth and prosperity, the worshipper should meditate on Him, as resembling the colour of heated gold, standing on a red lotus, with spear, sword, charity *(vara)* and security *(abhaya)*, in His four hands.

(c) To drive an enemy out *(uchchāṭana)*, He is imagined as a fierce God, who chases him with bow and arrow.

(d) To rout a host of enemies, He is conceived as possessing five hundred hands, armed with bows and arrows, with which He gives chase to the foe, roaring like thousand oceans, the flaming locks of his tawny hair springing on end, his body securly covered by an elephant's skin.

(e) In *graha-śānti*, He laughs horribly, and is black as collyrium, three-eyed, three-footed, and three-armed, with spear, sword and the *śūchī* pose.

(f) In *preta-śānti*, He is of terrific look, with erect hair, laughs horribly, and carries sword, sheild, bell, ghost, spear and skull.

Mention is also found of Aghora with eight, ten, twelve and thirty-two arms[1]. But only the eight-armed form is commonly described and iconographically citable. Several *dhyānas* describing this variety of Aghora have been referred to by Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, ii. pt. 1, pp. 198-99 ; pt. 2, pp. 365, 377-78, App. B, pp. 98-99 189-90, and Bhattasali in his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 119. These *dhyānas* are not, however, identical, and differ as to his emblems, garments and other minor features. Such modifications arose apparently from different conceptions of His aspects, in accordance with His manifold functions, and appear to have been responsible for the creation of several varieties of the same type.

Images of Aghora are rarely met with. Rao illustrates two South Indian examples in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, ii. pt. 1, Pl. xlviii. They correspond essentialy to a *dhyāna* quoted in the *Uttara-kāraṇāgama*[2]. In this *Āgama*, Aghora is described as a three-eyed figure, with a fierce mien, protruding teeth,

1. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, ii. pt. 1, pp. 198-200 ; Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, pp. 148-151.

2. Rao, *Op. cit.*, ii, pt. 2, App. B. pp. 98-99.

and flaming hair. He is dressed in red attire, and wears jewellery, and three long garlands, respectively, of skulls, daggers and scorpions. In His two normal hands, He holds a trident in an inclined position, the remaining six bearing a ghost, a pair of swords, drum, skull and shield. It is noteworthy that instead of the ghost and a second sword, the images, referred to above, carry a bell and a noose.

To the generosity of Mr. Sriram Maitra, the museum of the Varendra Research Society owes an image of Aghora of about the eleventh century date, from Ghatnagar in the district of Dinajpur, now on exhibition in its Śaiva gallery of Brahmanic sculptures. It represents another variety of the eight-armed Aghora. He is three-eyed, with sword, arrow, trident and drum in the right hands and shield, bow and skull in the left, the remainder broken away. As will be seen from the accompanying photograph, He has no blazing hair, which, to the contrary, is dressed high in the ascetic fashion, adorned with a crescent moon. His costume consists of a *dhoti* and a coat of mail, and He wears also jewellery and a long garland composed of human skulls. He is stepping to the right in the archer's pose, trampling under His feet two demons whom He is fighting to destroy. He is assisted by also His bull, who stands on the prostrate body of one of these demons and tears his chest with his horns. The other demon is pinned down by His trident. To the left of Aghora, there is a female goblin[1] with undressed hair, riding on a horse. Above the slab are seen the usual motifs, lotus flower and garland-bearers. On the pedestal are devices of more interest: lamp, incense-burner and offerings (*naivedya*), with intervening engraved figures, of inferior workmanship, perhaps of a subsequent date, showing a burning-ground, with vultures and jackals, feasting on remains of the dead.

This representation corresponds to two *dhyanas* of Aghora occuring in the *Prapañchasāra*[2] and the *Sāradātilaka*[3] Tantras. In the former work, Aghora is invoked as follows :-

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1. For such attendants of Aghora, see Rao, *Op. cit,* ii. pt. 1 p. 198 ; cf. also Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brhmanical sculpture in the Dacca Museum,* Pl. xlvii, fig. (a).
2. *Prapañchasāra Tantra* ed. Arthur Avalon, ch. xxvii, v. 18.
3. *Sāradātilaka Tantrā* ch. xx.

"May Aghora destroy all that is evil to you! He is of fierce mien with three eyes and terrific to behold; dark like the black clouds and clad in red raiment. Great serpents cover His body. He holds an axe, drum, sword, shield, bow, arrow, trident and skull. He it is who devours Nāgas and evil planets. But He ever grants good (to his worshipper).[1]"

The same functions and emblems are attributed to Him also in the *Sāradā-tilaka*[2]. The symbols of Aghora enumerated in these two *dhyānas* agree with those held by the image in question: its normal left hand with its attribute is broken away; but, it is probable, it held originally an axe, which is the only attribute wanting according to the *dhyānas* referred to. The sculpture also depicts very clearly the essential character of the deity. He is represented in the composition as actually fighting with those who cause mischief: they are overcome by Him, and as a mark of their full subjugation, His feet are upon their heads.

A parallel example in the collection of the Dacca Museum is figured on Pl. xlvii of Bhattasali's *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*. It differs from the specimen of the Varendra Research Society in the following details: Aghora has open lips, prominent teeth and *ūrddhvaliṅga*. He is attended by two male goblins, who carry knife and skull; there are three demons under his feet; direct over his head is an umbrella; on the pedestal there are nine skulls arranged in three groups, with figures of the donor and his wife to the proper right, and the scene of a burning ground represented to the left. Of particular interest is Aghora's attribute in his normal left hand, which is a bell and not an axe, as expected from the *dhyānas*, referred to above. An attribute of an image is an essential element in its representation: worship of the emblems of Aghora forms also an integral part of the ritual of His worship.[3] Such

1. *Prapañchasāra Tantra*, ed. Arthur Avalon, Intro. p. 55.
   Kālābhrābhaḥ karāgraiḥ paraśu-ḍamarukau khaḍga-khetau cha vāṇe
   shvāsau śūlam kapālaṁ dadhad-atibhayado bhīshaṇāsyas=trinetraḥ ।
   Rakt=ākār=āmvaroṣhi-pravara-ghatita-gātroṢri-nāga-grahādīn
   Khādan=nishṭ=ārthadāyī bhavad=anabhimato=chchhittaye syād=
   Ibid, xvii. 18. Aghoraḥ ॥
2. Paraśu-damaru-khaḍgān-khetakaṁ vāṇa-chāpau ।
   Triśikhi-nara-kapāle vibhrataṁ bhāvayāmi ॥
   Sāradātilaka, ch. xx.
3. *Sāradātilaka*, ch. xx.

a change of attribute, therefore, could by no means be whimsically or ignorantly introduced, but was necessitated perhaps by ritual purposes or local custom.

The cult of Śiva as Aghora, is associated also with a sect of ascetics who call themselves Aghorī, Aghora-panthī, Aughar or Augar, and are distributed in modern times over a wide tract of Northern and Central India. They believe that all things are equal and immaterial, and, in accordance with this doctrine, they make no discrimination in their food, whether it be a putrid corpse, cooked food or ordure. The Aghorī covers himself with ashes taken from a funeral pyre, and goes about almost naked, with a skull in his hand. He wears a rosary of Rudrāksha beads, and also necklace made of snake-bones, of tusks of wild boars, and some-times, of human teeth.

The practices followed by the Aghorī are not of modern origin, but known in India from a respectable antiquity. Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the Kapāladhārin, or 'wearers of skulls' and of 'naked ascetics', and others who cover themselves with ashes, and some who make chaplets of bones, which they wear as crowns on their heads' (Watters, on Yuan chwang, i, pp. 123, 149). These 'wearers of skulls' (*Kāpālika*) are more particularly described by Ānandagiri in his *Sankaravijaya* : "His body is smeared with ashes from a funeral pile, around his neck hangs a string of human skulls, his forehead is streaked with a black line, his hair is woven into the matted braid, his loins are clothed with a tiger-skin, a hollow skull is in his left hand (for a cup) and in his right hand he carries a bell, which he rings incessantly, exclaiming aloud, "Ho Śombhu, Bhairava, ho lord of Kālī ! titles of Śiva" (H. H. Wilson, *Essays*, i, p. 264n). The *Kāpālikavrata* is described by the poet Bhavabhuti, in his drama *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Act V., wherein the *Kāpālika* is styled significantly as Aghoraghaṇṭa (Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, ii, p. 55). When we come to more recent times, the author of the Dabistan (Eng. transl., Shea-Troyer, ii, p. 129) who died about 1670, gives an account of a sect of Yogis, 'who know no prohibited food ... ... They also kill and eat men ... ... There are some of this sect who, having mixed their excretions and filtered them through a piece of cloth, drink them and say that such an act renders a man capable of great affairs, and they pretend to know strange things."

1. For a general account of the Aghorī, see Crooke on 'Aghorī, Aghorapanthī Augar, Aughar'—*Ency. Rel. Ethy.*, i. pp. 210ff.

The Vrndavanakavya and its Author.

Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya, M. A.

The Sanskrit language affords pleasant and graceful opportunities of figures of speech appealing to the ear in the shape of repetition of syllables or groups of syllables in a regularity that would seem amusing and even nauseating in any other language; and Sanskrit poets were not slow to seize and utilise them in the service of literature. Bharata, who knows of only one figure of sound *(śabdālankāra)* (1) styles it *yamaka;* it was only in a later age that alliteration *(anuprāsa)* was differentiated from chime *(yamaka)* and classed as a separate and more agreeable *alaṅkāra.* The practice of earlier poets, (who wrote in the wake and development of the *Kāvya* style of composition) including the *ādikavi* Vālmīki and Aśvaghosa, who carried this tradition to a nicety, affords proof of the fact that in the earlier ages the two were regarded as but one *alaṅkāra.* But the *yamaka* in course of evolution became more elaborate and wordy and the theorist in India was up to denounce it in no uncertain terms and to curb its scope (2). The result has been that *yamakas* have come to be looked upon with askance and to the modern historian of Sanskrit literature, born and bred in the midst of other traditions, *yamaka* in *Kāvyas* and as a sequel to this, *Yamaka-Kāvyas* have become objects of derision and have been classed as things of extravagance and indecency and like *ślesa* and *śabdacitra* as

(1) The *Nāṭyaśāstra,* Chap XVI. 59-82 (N. S. Edn.)

(2) Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādrśa* I. 62 :— तत्तु नैकान्तमधुरम्; Rudraṭa, *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* III 59. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa as quoted in Namisadhu's commentary thereon and in Hemcandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* (p. 215) :—यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरस-विरोधिन्यः। अभिधानमात्रमेतत् गड्डरिकाप्रवाहो वा॥ Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 85).—ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे यमकादिनिबन्धनम्। शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वम्···। and (p. 223) :—प्राथमिकानामभ्यासार्थिनां यदि परं चित्रेण व्यवहारः······ दृश्यन्ते च कवयोऽलङ्कारनिबन्धनैकरसा अनपेक्षितरसाः प्रबन्धेषु; also the dictum of a later age प्रायशो यमके चित्रे रसपुष्टिर्न दृश्यते। This is quite in keeping with the dictum of the Kashmirian school, commencing from the time of Bhāmaha, whose strictures are embodied in the verse काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि (II. 20) round which has gathered in recent days much controversy for determing the relative dates of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha. Vāmana with his affinity for the line of thought followed by Daṇḍin seems to be the only exception to this.

an "utter abuse of language" (3). All this has dealt a death blow to the preservation and study of such *Kāvyas* and *Yamaka-Kāvyas* have been perishing, imbedded in manuscripts. The right Indian view has always been to approach them in the proper spirit and not to let them die. Even Ānandavardhana, (4), the greatest poeticist that old India produced, in spite of his precept to the contrary, indulged in *yamaka* composition and in *śabdacitra*; and we should remember that there is a gulf of difference between *yamaka* in *Kāvyas* and *Yamaka-kāvyas* meant as such. Moreover, the *yamaka* had so much established itself in literature that the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were recast in *yamaka* form for the delectation of certain types of people and the *purāṇakāra* and the astronomer even (5) in an early age stooped occassionally to stick to this device for variety and entertainment

The *Vṛndāvanakavya* is a *Yamaka-Kāvya*, which is available both in manuscripts and in print and has been known under the alternative names of *Vṛndāvana-yamaka* and *Yamunā-yamaka* (6). The list of manuscripts entered in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (7), as also the manuscript-catalogues of

(3) Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 313). This, of course, appears to be a sober wiew compared with the views of earlier historians of Sanskrit Literature.

(4) Vide his *Devīśataka* printed in the *Kavyamala* (*Gucchaka* 9) Ānanda like his Kashmir contemporaries, Sivasvāmin in the *Kapphanābhyudaya* and Rājānaka Ratnākara in the *Haravijaya* indulge to a degree in *śabdacitra* composition only with this difference that while the two latter introduced *yamaka* in *Sargarbandha*, our author was designedly writing a *yamaka*- and-*citra-Kāvya*, Ānanda's own feat is, however, covered by his remark (*Dhvānyāloka* p. 222).···यद्रा तु चाटुषु देवतान्तुतिषु वा रसादीनामङ्गतया व्यवहारः···

(5) Compare the *Bhāratayamaka*, *Bṛhatsamhita* Chap XXXand the so called Varāha-*yamaka* cited in works like the *Tīkāsarvasva* (II 46).

(6) Sarvānanda in his *Tīkāsarvasva* styles the Kāvya as *Vṛndāvana* or *Vṛndāvana-yamaka*, Peterson knows it under this double name. Hemacandra and the authority when he follows (vide *infra*) styles it simply as *Vṛndāvana*, Out of the eight manuscripts examined by us, two (one of which is preserved in the Dacca University collection) name it *Yamunā-Yamaka*, an alliterative name. The *raison d'etre* of a such title is furnished by verses 14, 28, 33 and 35 of the work. Verses 13, 15 & 28, among many justify the general way of naming.

(7) Vols. I & II.

public and private collections like those in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Varendra Research Seciety of Rajshahi, the Dacca University, to mention but a few, not incorporated in that encyclopaedic bibliography, only testify to its currency all over the continent of India. Like the more well known *Ghatakarpara-Kāvya,* it is a short handy *Kāvya* passing under the appelation of *Saṃghāta, Laghukāvya, Kāvya* or *Upakāvya* (8) and is easily distinguished from the type of more ambitious *kāvyas,* the *Nalodaya* and the *Kīcakavadha,* though both these types follow more or less the code prescribed for the *Sargabandha,* dealing with the external paraphernalia, as distinguished from the *vastu* or the plot proper. Some of the Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts (9) have, as is usual with them, when they deal with less-known works, given an inaccurate account of the nature and contents of this *kāvya* ; the description in the India Office Manuscripts Catalogue (10), however, is an exception and is, as far as possible, carefully done. The printed editions, which are three in number, including that in Haeberlin's Anthology, not available to the general Indian student, have not fared well in the matter of giving a correct and reliable text of the work (11),

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(8) *Saṃghāta* according to Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa)* Chap I pp. 14-15. (Premchand's edition) Rājaśekhara (*Kāvyamīmānsā)* p. 54, Hemcandra p. 341, (*Kāvyanuśasana* (N. S. edn.) Śāradātanaya (*Bhāvaprakāsana* p. 159.)
Laghukāvya according to Rudraṭa (*Kāvyalankāra*) XVI. 6 (p. 168)
Upakāvya according to Vāgbhaṭa and Vidyānātha, *Pratāparudrayaśobhūsaṇa* p. 96. (Bombay S. S.)
Khaṇḍa-Kāvya according to Viśvanātha (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* p. 389. Jivananda's edition).

(9) e.g. R. L. Mitra's Notices, L. 541 :...“Every verse of the poem has the same word twice in different senses and is otherwise full of alliterations” ; L. 1102. “The subject of the work is the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā ; Hpr. Notices I. p. XXXIX :...‘by Mālankarāja, probably a king of Kashmir, is a short poem in praise of Kṛṣṇa in double-*entendre*.’

(10) Part VII, 2079d (3911). This mss. contains 52 verses, including verse 43 (**दिगसावर्यमदयिता**), not printed in any of the editions available and left out in the original in A. S. B. Collection, G. III 85.

(11) The orthographical or tvpographical mistakes being left out of consideration, the following are the prominent mistakes in the printed editions :—
v. 7. **स्वयं वृत्तः संहताभिः** should read **स्वयं वृतः**··· ; v. 8. **जेता विन्ध्यर्द्दवद्री**··· should read **जेता विन्ध्यर्द्दवद्दरीभागानाम्** ; v. 15. **ललतोः**···**दामोदरयोः** should read

with the result that the work has not attracted the attention of the Indologist that it rightly deserves.

The question whether the *kāvya* as we now have it in 52 verses is complete or not, as well as that relating to the proper form of the name of the author, are easily disposed of. It was one editor of a Descriptive Catalogue ([12]), that was responsible for the untenable hypothesis that the work is incomplete; the reason behind this surmise seems to be the obsession of the views of a later age that a Vṛndāvana-*kāvya*, to be properly styled as such, must treat of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The confirmed evidence of a host of manuscripts of different provinces with their clear and unambiguous colophons gives the lie to this, as they also belie the supposition ([13]) that Mālānka and not Mānānka is the proper form of the author's name. The latter supposition, fanciful as it no doubt is, must have taken its cue from the indifferent way in which न् (n) and ल् (l) are written in Bengali script in manuscripts, and we must remember that Bengali manuscripts of this *kāvya* are quite abundant. Of the at least half a dozen commentaries to the work ([14]) (including no less than two anonymous

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ललतो ··· दामोदरयो ; v. 16. सरितश्चासं ··· should read सरितश्चासन् ··· ; v. 17. ; रौद्रं कन्दर्पस्य should read ऐन्द्रं कन्दर्पस्य ; v. 17, स्त्रीहृदयान्यभिदनतः— (the same also in line 4 of the verse) should be ··· भिनदतः v. 18. प्रोषित-वलाकायेषु should be प्रोषिताबलाकायेषु ; v. 20. ध्वनतघनौघः should be ध्वनन् धनौघः···; v. 23. व्यमुचन्नपवन ··· should be ऽव्यमुचन्नव···; v. 27. नकरोत् कुजट··· should be नकरोत् कुटज ; v. -2. स्थलीयुर्ताः प्राय should be स्थलीयुर्ताः प्राप··· ; v. 34 प्राप्य शरीरं रन्तुं should be प्राप्य शरी रन्तुं ; v. 35. 4th line भ्रजं should be स्रजं ; दीयतेऽच्युत हे should read. दयितोऽच्युत हे···,

v. 43 दिगसावर्ग्य मदयिता, as has been noted, has been left out altogether in the printed editions.

The two Indian editions are those of Jivananda in the *Kāvyasangraha* (1861 & 1867), in the former of which there are only 43 verses, in the latter 51 and of Haridas Hirachand, *Kāvyakalāpa* (pp 83—88) Bombay 1864. The latter is no improvement on the former.

(12) L. 541 :—"The ms is incomplete (1—52 ślokas)".

(13) Vide Peterson, Third Report, 1887 Intr. pp. 11 & p. 291

(14) Aufrecht mentions commentaries by Śāntisuri, Kāśinātha, Rāmakānta, Rāmarsi. The anonymous glosses are those represented by Hpr. L 341, Dacca University Collection 70 E, and 129 I.

glosses), that by Śāntisūri (15), presumably a Jaina scholar of fair antiquity, who wrote the *vṛtti* to four more well known *Yamaka-Kāvyas*, appears to be the eldest and most reputed and that justly so; for while later commentators (16) improve here and there on his interpretation, they lack that precise and concise manner of explanation and exposition that have made his commentary an invaluable help to the reader of the *kāvya*.

As to the popularity of the work amongst scholars of India in days gone by, these commentaries coming as they do from different provinces, are not the only index. The references to or citations from the *Kāvya* in a line of uninterrupted continuity in accredited grammatical works and glosses on lexicons like those by Sarvānanda (17), Ujjvaladatta and Rāyamukuṭa and possibly by Maitreya Raksita (18), go to prove in what way this work, and as for the matter of that, all such works (19), were regarded as authoritative and valuable texts in the matter of fixing the proper forms of words. The antiquity or the *Kavya* goes beyond Maitreya Raksita's time, for it is quoted by the poet and poeticist

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(15) It begins thus :—
वर्द्धमानं सुधामानं देवेन्द्रैः कृतसत्क्रियम्। वर्द्धमानं महामानं नत्वा देशितसत्क्रियम् ॥
वृन्दावनादिकाव्यानां यमकैरतिदुर्विदाम्। वक्ष्ये मन्दप्रबोधाय पञ्चानां वृत्तिमुत्तमाम् ॥
His date is probably 1100 A. C., as appears from the genealogy given in Peterson's Sixth Report Intro. P. x. He may be identical with the Śāntiśuri named Vādivetala of the Tharapadra *Gachha* who wrote a commentary on the *Uttarādhyānasūtra*, Peterson's Fourh Report Intro cxix.

(16) eg. on verse 7 ग्रहपतिरिव चन्द्रतुल्यः (Santisuri);
तेजसा सूर्य्य इव हिमहीनः उग्रतेजा इत्यर्थः (70 E Dacca University Collection);
सूर्य्य इव हिमहीनत्वात् (1915 Dacca University Collection). Ramarsi also has the same interpretation.

(17) Ujjvaladatta *Uṇādisūtravṛtti* under I. 28, I. 121, II, 78.
Vide the *Tīkāsarvasva* I 55 113; II 100, 224, 246, 267; III 134 Sarvānanda adopts different readings in verses 28 (in which case he gives two different readings in two citations) and 40 from what we find in the printed editions.

(18) Vide the *Tīkāsarvasva* (I p. 55)
The *Dhātupradīpa* edited by the late Prof. S. C. Chakravarti (for the V, R. Society) does not contain this portion. Ujjvaladatta quotes from a *Dhātupradīpikā*. (II. 112). Can it be the self-same work?

(19) eg. the *Tīkāsarvasva* 156 on the authority of the *Hariprabodha-Yamaka-kavya*.

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmānsā* (20). It is instanced along with the *Meghadūta* in an old and authoritative Alankāra work as a type of the old divisions of *kāvyas* known as *Samghātakavyas* (21), a subdivision which in later days, as we have noticed before, came to be substituted by *Laghukāvyas*, *Upakāvyas* and *Khandakāvyas.* Rudraṭa's first instance of *Yamaka* (III 4), as well as his rather curt way of dismissal (22) of forms of *Yamaka* with double and quadruple chimes, a practice which was growing into a fashion, as due to individual taste and *color locale,* point to such a work being known in his time.

This would give about 825 A. C. as an approximate limit for our *kāvya*, a date otherwise borne out by collateral evidence. To the careful student of *Yamaka* types of composition, their recognition in and through the work of the great masters of *Sargabandha kāvyas,* like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi and Māgha marks definite stages of evolution ; for the *Sargabandha,* so far as a curiosity of the type of *yamakas* was concerned, could only register types that have been sanctioned and set seal on. The double type of *Antyamakas,* i. e. in each half of the verse though excellently and skilfully illustrated in the *Ghaṭakarpara* (23)

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(20) P. 57 (Second Edn.) It is rather unfortunate that in the printed edition of the *Kāvyamīmānsā* the second quarter of the verse is shown as जनोऽयं मोहरये and not as जनो यं मोहरये, the proper reading.

(21) Vide Premchand's edition of the *Kāvyādarsā* p. 15 :— यत्र कविरेकमर्हां वृत्तेनैकेन वर्णयति काव्ये । संघातः स निगदितो यथा वृन्दावनमेघदूतादिः ॥
Hemacandra (p. 341 N. S. edition) in his *Kāvyānuśasana* utilises this definition. I am unable to trace this quotation. In a previous paper I suggested that it might be from the *Sṛngāraprakāsa* of Bhoja (I. H. Q. June 1929). In *Tīkāsarvasva* the same authority appears to have been quoted in connection with the definitions of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā.* The mention of *Vṛndāvana* before the *Meghadūta* is to be explained, as that of the *Malavika* before the *Harsacarita* or that of the *Damayantī (Nalacampu)* before the *Vāsavadattā* as due to verse requirements or to the author's predilection.

(22) Rudraṭa' *Kāvyālankāra* pp 26, 27 and 34 and Namisadhu's note (p. 27) यादृशानि प्रथमं···तानि श्लोकान्तरे क्रियन्ते

(23) eg verse I :— निचितं खमुपेत्य नीरदैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः । The popularity and antiquity of the *Ghaṭakarpara* is borne out by the fact that Abhinavagupta, the great Śaiva philospher and exegist and next to Ānandavardhana,

could not have been a fashionable way in Kālidāsa's time (24) —for it would be presumptuous to think that Kālidāsa could not write such things, seeing that he illustrated *Yamakas* in his *Kāvyas* and did not attempt such compositions, which certainly has felicity enough to claim votaries. Bhāravi (25) has illustrated many classes of *Yamakas* including the *Ardhāvalī* and *Dvicaturtha Yamakas* which approximate to it. The *Antyayamaka* as based on *pādāṃśa* division has first received a vague but implicit sanction in a verse in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (26), which according to authentic tradition was not meant to be regarded as an instance of *Yamaka* proper (27). In Bhaṭṭi's treatment of *Yamaka* covering twenty types, there is one (*Pushpayamaka*), which is a quadruple chime approximating to it or rather out-distancing it (28). It is in the *Śiśupālavadha* (29) that we have some instances of this type of *Yamaka* and pretty instances too. That this type got time to establish itself in the region of purely *Yamaka-Kāvyas* and that Mānāṅka was indebted to Māgha appear here and there from his manner, description and phraseology (30). The evolution of *Yamaka* can also be traced in a parallel way in the works of the theorists also. Bharata (31) knows of easy and simple types in which the type approximating to that in the *Vṛndāvana* ends in all

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the greatest name in the matter of framing the views of the new school of poeticists, though bred in another tradition, has commented on it in the work *(Ghaṭakarpara-Kulakavivṛti)*, though styling it as a *Kulaka*,

(24) Vide *Raghuvaṃśa* IX, 1—54 of the type भुजलतां जलतामबलाजनः ।

(25) Vide *Kirātārjunīya* XV, 8-10, 30-37, 42, 50, 52 and *Kirāta*. V. 7, 9, 11, 13, 23, 25, 27.

(26) X. 37. Mr. Divekar's contention that the tenth canto might not have been intended to illustrate types of *Alaṅkāra* according to a fixed scheme (*J. R. A. S.*, 1929) is a bit far-fetched.

(27) The verse is अहत धनेश्वरस्य युधि यः समेतमायो धनं
तमहमितो विलोक्य विबुधैः कृतोत्तमायोधनम् ।···

(28) *Ibid*, X. 14.

(29) IV. 6, 28, 42, 48, 60, 66, 79. IV. 48 is exactly like the verses in the *Vṛndāvana* in point of metre and *Yamaka* composition. The *Sarga* dealing in *Yamaka* (VI) imitates the manner of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.

(30) eg. *Vṛndāvana* 32 = *Śiśupāla* IV. 54 ; Vr 29—*Śiśu*. IV. 36 ; Vr. 33 = *Śiśu* VI; *Vṛ*. 49, though reminiscent of *Śiśu* VI. 34, is an improvement on it, so far as *Yamaka* composition is concerned.

(31) The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Chap XVI. 59-82 (N. S. Edn). Verse 64 is of the type mentioned above

the four lines in the same syllable with almost the same meaning. Daṇḍin (32) in spite of his apparently ambitious and bulky treatment, acquaints us with no such types. Vāmana (33) certainly goes much further and has more clear-cut ideas on the subject. His verse (सपदि कृतपदस्त्वदीप्तितेन p. 102. VV edn.) recognises this variety. Rudraṭa (34) knows such as common cases but approves of them in a half-hearted way. Rājaśekhara (35) knows it full well and styles a poet indulging in such type of composition as *Śabdālankārakavi* (cf *varnakavi* of the *Vṛndāvana*, verse 9).

It may be urged that in the course of evolution when such a type as we find in the *Vṛndāvana* emerged, as a generally accepted genus, it partook of a good deal of stiffness and artificiality. While there is some truth in this statement it cannot be said that the *Yamakas* in this *Kāvya* are generally difficult of comprehension and monotonous in their range. Except in a few instances (36), there is graceful felicity all through (as in the *Kīcakavadha* a later work in a different line)—a trait which it could preserve because of its small bulk. The *Nalodaya* and other works of Vāsudeva, being more bulky and consequently more artificial, because of quadruple chime, in some cases all over—could not claim such a honour. Again, the real criteria of best types of *Yamaka* composition according to the time-honoured code (37) were complied with in the

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(32) The *Kāvyādarśa* Chap III. 1-77. Bhāmaha's treatment (II. 9-18), though more sketchy, is no less well planned.

(33) The *Kāvyālaṇkārasūtravṛtti* pp 102, 104 &c. (V.V. edn)

(34) The *Kāvyālaṇkāra* Ch. III 20, 59 also p. 34.
; Namisādhu in his commentary thereon remarks (27) :—यथा यादृशानि प्रथमश्लोक आद्यन्तानि चाङ्गानि कृतानि तानि श्लोकान्तरे क्रियन्त इति कृत्वा, तथापि महाकवीनां न क्वचिदेवंविधं लक्ष्यं दृश्यते···

(35) The *Kāvyāmīmānsā* (p. 18) न प्राप्तं विषमरणं प्राप्तं पापेन कर्मणा विषमरणम् । Here also the second quarter of the verse is wrongly printed in the Gaekwad O. S. edition. It should read :— कर्मणा विषमरणम् । The 'च' shown at the end of the first half of the verse should be omitted.

(36) As in v—4 स्तौमि च लाङ्गलवन्तं (देवं यः संयुगे चलाङ्गलवन्तं) ; v—9 (वर्णकविः शासिता च वसुधायाः) ; v—11 (योगिभिरित्यस्तमितः केशवमाप्नोमि नाथमस्तमितः) ; v—14 (उदधिपयोनिर्घोषं तत्र निवेश्याच्युतोऽपयोनिर्घोषम्) ; v—33 (स्वयमिवाञ्जनभसा नभसा) v—48 (प्राप्ताः शङ्के कायन्ते स्थलघनमिति मन्वानाः शं केकायन्ते)

(37) Compare the *Kāvyālaṇkārasūtravṛtti* (107. V. V. edn.) :— विभक्तीनां विभक्तत्वं संख्यायाः कारकस्य च । आवृत्तिः सुप्तिङन्तानां मिथश्च यमकाङ्गतम् ॥ also the view of

fullest degree. We may note however that before composing this work our author tried his hand in another and an easier work, the *Meghābhyudaya* (38), which also is one of the five *Yamaka Kāvyas* commented on by Śāntisūri and in which the same mode seems to have been scrupulously followed, though in a school-boy-exercise fashion. The contents of the *Kāvya* may be briefly noted. After the customary salutation, which in this case, in the fitness of things, is of the gods Kṛṣṇa (v 1—3) and Balarāma (v 4—6), we have a description of King Ugrasena, the father of the poet Mānāṅka (v 7-11) and a reference to his *Yamaka* work (12). Then with the auspicious particle *atha*, the poem proceeds to narrate the roving of Kṛṣṇa with his brother over Vṛndāvana and their leisurely sipping of the waters of the Yamunā in a holiday mood in the company of cowherd friends (13—14). Summer has come to an end and the rains with their attendant gloomy outlook, with the rumbling of clouds streaked with lightning rousing the passion of love, striking terror and dismay in the hearts of the village maiden separated from her lord, expediting the lovesick lady to her meeting with the lover at the tryst, and with the splash in the waters of brooks and their dash through cane groves and the consequent delight of wild elephants are described along with the conventional reference to the blooming of the *jāti, yūthi, sarja, kuṭaja* and *kadamba* flowers and to the accompanying exultation of the peafowls and the disappearance of swans (15—26). Mt. Govardhana with its rough load of

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Bhāmaha (II. 18) :—**प्रतीतशब्दमोजस्वि सुश्लिष्टपदसन्धि च। प्रसादि स्वभिधानं च यमकं कृतिनां मुदे ॥**

(38) It begins thus :—**जितालिमालामधुभित्तमालं द्युमार्गमादाय महत्तमालम्।**
पयो विमुञ्चत्यचिरप्रभाभिर्महाम्बुदाली चलदीप्रभाभिः ॥ १

The last (37th verse) of the *Meghābhyudaya* ends in the same strain as the last but one verse (verse 51) of the *Vṛndāvana*. (**उच्चै रसत्यविरतं जलदोऽस्तवारिरस्मिन् प्रयातु समये प्रिय यस्तवारिः ॥**= *Vṛ.* 81, **सम्प्रत्युद्यमकालो न वाहिनीपानाम्**:) Peterson, Fourth Report p. 288 6th Rep. 348. The closing lines of the last verse (37th verse) are on a par with the last lines of the last but one verse of the *Vṛndāvana*. It would appear that in point of execution the *Meghābhyudaya* imitated very closely the *Ghatakarpara*, the only difference being while the former was not a love poem, being addressed to a king-patron or (?) relating to a *pauraṇic* incident as the *Vṛndāvana*, the latter is professedly a love poem.

rocks is encompassed with clouds and moist breezes sweep over Vṛndāvana and the Yamunā is in her merry mood (27—28). Delighted at the advent of the rains, Kṛshṇa and Balarāma enter into the heart of Vṛndāvana, the former with his lute merrily descrying the cool refreshing groves and marching towards Mushṭika and the latter (Balarāma) with his colossal figure like Paraśurāma and his garland of *kakubha* flowers, both with their eyes directed on Uddhava, the minister (29—36). Then Balarāma describes eloquently the advent of the rains to Kṛshṇa after enjoying the sight of the Govardhana, a thing of beauty and ends, saying that it was not the time for marching against enemies (37—51), scattering the beauty of fried paddy *(lāja)* with his smiles (52).

It would appear that there is no action properly called or no plot (39). There is description in the usual fashion reminding one of similar things in the writings of the classic masters including the *ādikavi* Vālmikī. Indeed the description of the rainy season (presumably in a more finished form than in the earlier work the *Meghābhyudaya* with a variation by the use of *jāti* metres), carries the reader back to Kālidāsa's description of the same thing in the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* and to the *Ghaṭakarpara* (40). With the exception of the human element in the shape of the dawn of love so exquisitely delineated in those two lyrics, the resemblance runs to minutest details (41) of convention and in some cases of phraseology even (42), so much so that one may say with safety that the poet had constantly before his mind's eye the works of the two masters, particulary of the latter.

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(39) We have a vestige of plot in the *Ghaṭakarpara* even. The statement referred to in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 54) मुक्तके कवयोऽनन्ताः संघाते कवयः शतम् । महाप्रबन्धे तु कविरेको द्वौ दुर्लभास्त्रयः ॥ is thus self-evident.

(40) We have here the same atmosphere dealing with the thriving of the *kandala, nicula, ketaka, kadamba, kakubha, vakula* and surcharged with the notes of *indragopa, cātaka, barhin*.

(41) eg. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 1 = *Vṛndāvana* 41 ; 4 = *Vṛ*. 44 ; 5 = *Vṛ*. 38. *Ghaṭakar*. 13 = *Vṛ*. 34 ; 14 = *Vṛ*. 21 ; 3 = *Vṛ*. 24 ; 18 = *Vṛ*. 47 ; 5 = *Vṛ*. 21.

(42) The words *utsuka, sotsuka* and *samutsuka* (Vs. 6, 9, 14, 16 & 17, *Rs.*) are utilised for *Yamaka* in the *Vṛndāvana*. *Ghaṭa* 8 = *Vṛ*. 22 ; *Ghaṭa* 13 = *Vṛ*. 23 ; *Ghaṭa* 16 = *Vṛ*. 19.

From the standpoint of the plot or rather of its setting, one is struck at the curious coincidence with Chap. X in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* of the *Harivaṁśa* (43) where also we have almost the same thing including the description of the advent of the rains and the address of Balarāma to Kṛṣṇa. The romantic site of Vṛndāvana as the haunting place of the scenes of love of the cowherd damsels and particularly of Rādhā, that was conceived as an after-effect of the pleasure begotten of a pondering over the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (44) and the *Padmapurāṇa*, specially in works of a later age, as in the verses of Lilāśuka, Govardhana, Umāpatidhara and of Jayadeva (45), not to say of those in still later and more laboured compositions, the *Vṛndāvana-Śataka* of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī (46) (to distinguish from which our *kāvya* might in some quarters have been named the *Yamuna-Yamaka*) and the *Ānandavṛndāvanacampū* of the well known Kavi-karṇapūra of Bengal, is not what the like of which we find in this *kāvya*. Moreover, here, as in expression, so also in the imagery, the stilted outlook of convention and poetic tradition dominate everything whatsoever.

And this leads us to a reference to an older *Yamaka-Kāvya*, which covers a similar ground and which, if any inference drawn from only a few stray and

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(43) Vide Vangavasi Edn. of the work in Bengali characters pp 140, 141. Chap X contains 43 verses in the *śloka* metre.

(44) *Skandha* X. 11, 14, 20, 21 Chaps. (Chap 15-27 वनं वृन्दावनं नाम पशव्यं नवकाननम्। गोपगोपीगवां सेव्यं पुण्याद्रितृणवीरुधम् ॥ Chaps 39-42 (verses 18-25.) Vangavasi Edn. *Padmapurāṇa (Pātāla Khaṇḍa.)*

(45) cf. *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.* I. 22 (V. V. edn) (विचित्रपत्राङ्कुर ·) I. 66 ; (मारः स्वयं नु···) I. 75... &c. ;

Govardhana's verse पान्थ ! द्वारवतीं प्रयासि यदि हे quoted in the anthologies as cited in Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 202 ; Umāpatidhara's verse निर्मग्नेन मयाम्भसि प्रणयतः पाली समालिङ्गिता केनालीकमिदं तवाद्य कथितं राधे मुधा ताम्यसि ।···

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*—I. 1. राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति यमुनाकूले रहःकेलयः ।

II. 27. विहरति हरिरिह सरसवसन्ते ··· and

II. 28. स्फुरदतिमुक्तलतापरिरम्भणमुकुलितपुलकितचूते ।
वृन्दावनविपिने परिसरपरिगतयमुनाजलपूते ॥

(46) cf *Vṛndāvanaśataka* v 4, 8, 10, 15, 16 &c. This *kavya* has been printed in all the three anthologies which contain the text of the *Vṛndāvanayamaka*, cf. *Ānandavṛndāvana—Stavakas* VI, VII & XV.

random quotations, is permissible (47), seems to be based on Chaps. XV & XVI of the same section of the *Harivaṁsa* and has an incidental reference to a march and fight and a description of the autumn (48). The *Hariprabodhayamaka* is the name by which it is familiar to scholars and is quoted in Vāmana's *Kāvyalāṅkārasūtravṛtti*, where however our *kāvya* the *Vṛndāvana* is not quoted. The latter differs from the former as regards *yamaka*-scheme in this that it does not aim at an illustration of several types of *yamaka*, which, from the citations before us, seems to have been the object of the author of the *Hariprabodha*. The *Vṛndāvana*, except in the case of the four verses 32, 33, 38 & 39 which again are all of the same type of *pādānta-yamakas* not ending in rhyme, illustrates one type of double-chiming *yamakas*. (In this connection one cannot but notice the influence of Mānānka over the later writer Nitivarman, author of the *Kīcakavadha* (49), who has gone to the limit of appropriating one entire line of a verse of the *Vṛndāvana* and has many more minor resemblances).

The metrical apparatus of the *Hariprabodha* seems to resemble generally that of the *Vṛndavana*, except that while in the former as in the verse विविधधवना quoted in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* and the *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa*, the poet has no scruples in using a *vṛtta* metre, Mānānka confines himself to the use of *jāti* metres in his work. He seems to do just the opposite in his earlier work the *Meghābhyudaya* where following the *Ghaṭakarpara* he uses only the *vṛtta* metre (50). Except in the four closing verses which are all in *jāti* metres of 22 syllabic intants each per line and may be regarded as belonging to the *āryyā*

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(47) Vide the *Tīkāsarvasva* I 33, 56, (which probably is a part of the description of autumn) 176, 182; the *Kāvyālankārasūtravṛtti* (page 104 V. V. edition); the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhabharaṇa* pp 180 and 182 (N. S. edn).

(48) These two Chaps. are conceived in a spirit of *Kāvya* style and bear on the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Indra, the inauguration of the *Giriyajna* and the advent of autumn.

(49) Vide the *Kīcakavadha* (edited by Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University). IV 16= *Vr*. 41; also *Kīcaka* I. 27.

(50) Both the *Ghaṭakarpara* and the *Meghābhyudaya* end in *vasantatilaka* verses, and contain *yamakas* covering the last three syllables of the line generally.

genus, the metre all through is *skandhaka* or *āryyāgīti* ([51]) in the nomenclature adopted by Piṅgala and the followers, every half of which consists of 8 *gaṇas* of 4 *mātrās* each, being itself subdivided into feet of 3 and 5 *gaṇas* in the odd and even quarters respectively. The odd foot chimes with the next even foot, both in the *Vṛndāvana* and the *Hariprabodha,* except in the case of the regular intentional irregularities noted above. The *āryyā* prototype of these metres is well maintained ; for in the odd *gaṇas* there is no *ja* (ज) *gana* (◡—◡). We have rather a sparse use of *ja gaṇas,* in as much as in the odd lines in the *skandhaka* no *ja-gana* is found, a scheme different from what we find (*e. g.*) in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* Canto X (v. 14. 2nd half स वनं विविक्तमालं) or in the *Apabhraṁśa Kāvyas.* In the 4th and 6th *gaṇas* in the two halves of the verses we have *ja-gaṇas* (eg. 4th *gaṇas* as in 2, 9, 10 all in the 2nd half ; 6th *gaṇa* 17, 30, 31, 44, 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 18, 20, 43, 2nd half, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10 1st half). The poet is most felicitous in those verses in which the odd quarter is either a *sa* (स) *gaṇa* (◡ ◡—) eg. in 1, 27, 28, 32, 40 or contains two long syllable (म) (— —) *gaṇas,* eg. 17, 18, 39 1st half, 8, 41 2nd half. There are a few metrical irregularities *e. g.* in verses 3, 6, 11 and 23 in which the even quarter contains 4 *gaṇas* and a half of 4 *mātrās* each. While this metre of *gaṇa* class is not rare in Sanskrit *Kāvya* literature being used by Bhaṭṭi (in canto XIII) ([52]) and by Māgha in (IV. 48 and IV. 51), it is the metre regularly used in poems written in Prakrit and more often in Apabhraṁśa languages ([53]). The question of the possible influence

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(51) *Vide* Piṅgala's *Chandah-sūtras* :—अष्टौ वसुगण आर्य्यागीतिः (IV. 31) and Halāyudha's *vṛtti* thereon. Kedarabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* and Gangādāsa's *Chandomanjarī*—as also the *Prakṛtapingalasūtras* (I. 63) ; N. S. edn—स्कन्धकं छन्दः । also the similarily in structure of the verses in the *Vṛndāvana* with that in the *Setubandha* (*Dasamuhavaho*) II. 24, 27, 31, 33 ; VI. 48, 53, 59, 62, 65, 68 is to be noted.

(52) and in one solitary verse (v. 14) in X.—

अथ लुलितपतत्रिमालम् ··· ।

(53) cf. the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 388 Jivananda's edition) :—

छन्दसा स्कन्धकेनैव क्वचिद्गलितकैरपि ।

of Apabhraṅśa poetry on Sanskrit, specially in *yamaka* and rhyming verses in the latter, is a thorny one and need not disturb our position or detain us here, as we have from more than one standpoint arrived at a fairly reliable date of the *Kāvya* under discussion ([54]).

Now that we have done with the other items involved in the summary of the contents, we have to take up the question of the identification or personal history of the author. His father who is designated as Ugrasena ([55]) was powerful as the sun or beautiful like the moon ([56]), was chosen king by the *prakṛtis*

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(54) Vide Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 197 & 198

(55) Verses 7—12 are here noted for ready reference :—

ग्रहपतिरिव हिमहीनः कान्त्याऽभूदुग्रसेन इति हि महीनः ।
प्रकृतिभिररिहेतीहः स्वयं वृतः संहताभिररिहेतीहः ॥ ७
बलभिदरीभागानां जेता विन्ध्यस्तवद्दरीभागानाम् ।
शौक्ल्यादाशार्हस्य प्रभवो यशसः समश्च दाशार्हस्य ॥ ८
यो भोक्तेव सुधाया वर्णकविः शासिता च वसुधायाः ।
यस्य परामुदधीनां तटेषु दत्ति (कीर्त्तिं) प्रचक्षते मुदधीनाम् ॥ ९
भरत इव विभावसवः सर्वेषां प्राणिनामथ विभावसवः ।
यस्मिन् वसुधामवति स्थिरा बभूवुः समाश्च वसुधामवति ॥ १०
अनुकृत्य रघो राज्ञः प्रत्याख्याताशनः (प्रत्याख्यातासनः) प्रभुरघोराज्ञः ।
योगिभिरत्यस्तमितः केशवमाप्नोमि स नाथमित्यस्तमितः ॥ ११
तस्येयमकार्य्येभ्यश्च्युतेन तनयेन रचितयमकाऽऽर्य्येभ्यः ।
दत्ता वाक् स्वा कृतिना मानाङ्केन हरिसंश्रया स्वा कृतिना ॥ १२

Vide footnote 16 for this point. It has been the fashion amongst a certain section of scholars to interpret the term *prakṛti* appearing in such references as applying to subjects, though the proper explanation, viz. that in keeping with traditional lore (cf. *saptaprakṛtikam rājyam*) would be to mean the body of ministers. C. V. Vaidya (*A History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III. p. 286) and A. S. Ramanath Ayyar (*Popular Government in Mediaeval Travancore —Pr. Or. Confce*, Madras, pp. 350-352) however, apparently regard them as people's representatives in the case of the Kerala country at least.

(56) This is how the term *grahapati* is explained by the commentators, at least some of whom took it as the conventional language of reference to kings.

the board of ministers (55), had conquered the interior of the regions lying between the Vindhyas and the Ṛkṣavat (a mountain near the Narmadā) (57), was a *varnakavi* (58), (which epithet is differently explained by different commentators) and was well known for his liberal gifts or his beneficent administration (59) in lands near about the sea, took to ascetic austerities or abdicated his throne in the manner of king Raghu (60). The author was Mānānka, handsome in appearance and the composition is his own, submitted to the care of the wise and cultured. To this there is added the customary eulogy of his father's unsullied fame, of being the ruler of the earth who imitated Bharata in respect of protecting the lives and properties of his people (61). From what has gone before it is clear that our Mānānka must be distinguished from the royal commentator Mānānka (62), author of a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* and presumably also of a commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*. For similar reasons of difference in time and tradition the king Mānadeva or Mānānka (as mentioned in coins of Nepal) and the emperor Yaśovarmadeva of Kanauj, who was known as a poet but in whose case no other details agree with the above, are barred out.

The similarity of the *kāvya* with the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* and the *Nalodaya* of the poet Vāsudeva associated with the Kerala kings Rājaśekhara and

(57) There is nothing in the topography given in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (Chap. 54) or in the *Skandapurāṇa*, *Kumārakhaṇḍa* (Chap. 39) which militates against what we have arrived at regarding the locality of the author at the close of the paper.

(58) Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyāmīmānsā* (page 18) styles such a poet *alaṅkarakavi*. The compiler of the I. O. Mss Descriptive Catalogue seems to support this view when (p. 1477) he remarks :—"The author of the poem speaks of his father, * * a poet in the same style of poetry as himself."

(59) There are two readings *dattim* and *kīrtim* in the 4th quarter of the 9th verse.

(60) The latter interpretation is supported by *Raghuvaṅsa* VII. 71 :—प्रथमपरिगतार्थस्तं रघुः सन्निवृत्त …… ।…तदुपहितकुटुम्बः शान्तिमार्गोत्सुकोऽभूत् …।

(61) as in the *Kādambarī*, *Harṣacarita*, *Rājatarangiṇī* &c. and *Kīcakavadha*, I. 16-19.

(62) Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum* and Peterson, *Third Report* p. 280 and Introduction p. 11. The commentators are not agreed as to whether Mānānka (or Māna) was the name of the author or it was a mere *viruda*.

Kulaśekhara [63] is to all outward appearances so complete in manner and form [64] that one is led to think that it is the same poet writing under a different protege and trying to pass off as another. But a closer reflection shows that the manner of the poets is different—for unlike the former the latter writes ambitious *kāvyas* divided into *āśvāsas, uccvāsas* or books in which there are quadruple chimes even and in which the closing verses in each book are composed in *anustubh* or other *vṛtta* metres (62). The poet Vāsudeva speaks of a king Rāma as his patron in a manner that would not favour his identification with Mānānka the author of the *Vṛndāvana.* In the *Yudhisthiravijaya* he speaks of his *kāvya* as composed for the scorn of the people (जगदुपहासाय रचिता), [65] a form of modesty which ill corresponds with the note of self-assertion as in v. 12 of the *Vṛndāvana* (दृप्ता वाक् ··· स्वा कृतिना). Moreover no Kerala ruler of the close of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century could boast of imperial supremacy or of being lords of the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat regions [66].

The point noted about the author's father being chosen by the *prakṛtis* and that about his wide conquests and liberal gifts would apparently favour the identification of Ugrasena and Mānānka with kings Gopāla and Dharmapāla

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(63) Vide *J. R. A. S.,* 1925 pp. 263-275 for discussion on this point. K. S. R. Ayyar following Kerala traditional chronology would place Rājaśekhara in the first quarter of the ninth century A. C. Keith and Winternitz think the date to be questionable. From what we have remarked below it would appear that Vāsudeva must have flourished at least two generations later than the author of the *Vṛndāvana.* Kulaśekhara, the Kerala king, the reputed author of the *Mukundamālā* and the *Āścāryamaka* is generally believed to have been living in the beginning of the tenth century.

(64) Cf. *Nalodaya* I. 54, II. 64, III. 54 and IV. 47

(65) Cf. *Y. vijaya* I. 10 and *Vṛndāvana* 12. The account given in the *Tripuradahana* (vide *J. R. A. S.,* 1925) and that in the *Nalodaya* verses 5—9 of the king patron of Vāsudeva can in no way be equated with that in the *Vṛndāvana* 7—12. Moreover no commentary on any of the *Kāvyas* of Vāsudeva by Śantisūri, who commented on both the *kāvyas* of Mānānka, and on other *yamaka kāvyas,* is known to exist ; and this is significant.

(66) Vide Padmanabha Ayyar, *A History of Kerala* and *Ind. Anti,* XXIV. pp. 249 57.

respectively of Bengal (67). But here too we are on slippery foundations ; for the inscriptions of the Pāla kings do not prove that they had many *virudas* (68) which can only account for the ascription of the names Ugrasena and Mānanka to them and we do not know of Gopāla abdicating in favour of Dharmapāla (69) and certainly none of these are known from references in inscriptions even to have any pretensions to poetic gifts.

But insciptional evidence is in our favour when we try to identify Ugrasena and Mānānka with the Rāṣṭrakūta rulers (both with a Vaiṣṇava leaning) Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvarṣa and Govinda III Jagattunga Prabhūtavarṣa respectively. The Nilgunda inscription (in Kanarese) of A. C. 866 knows the latter as *kīrti-nārāyana* (70), and in the Baroda plate of Govinda (71) he is styled as *kīrtipuruṣa* in a verse which describes his father Dhruva * * as *kalivallabha,* a *viruda* which we would like to see equated with Ugrasena ; he is regarded as having come to the throne superseding his elder brother with the tacit consent of his ministers (72) and having been well known as much for his many gifts as for his prowess. He is also described as of wise administration, and as a conqueror of the Vindhya

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(67) Khalimpur, plate vide *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. IV p. 243 and *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXI pp 254—257 verses 4, 6 and 7 also *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XV p. 304 where the gifts of a later king Nārāyaṇapāla of the same family are described in a similar strain.

(68) The epithets Hāravarṣa and Vikramaśīla as applied to the poet's patron and his father by Abhinanda, the author of the *Rāmacarita,* are not so well-known as to be called *virudas.*

(69) *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XV, p. 304 verses 17, Vigrahapāla thus speaks of Nārāyanapāla according to the manner and language of the inscription :— तपो ममास्तु राज्यं ते···

(70) *Epigraphica Indica,* VI, pp. 98—108 verse 3

(71) Baroda Grant of Govinda III Indian Antiquary Vol. XII, pp. 159 *Epigraphica Indica,* VI pp. 239—251, verse 5.

(72) *Ibid,* verse 5, ज्येष्ठ्योल्लङ्घनजात ··· लक्ष्म्या समेतोऽपि··· योऽभून्निर्मलमण्डले स्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित्। and *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. IV pp 278—290 verse 10 :···भोगभयभङ्गुरराज्यचिन्तः। आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सम्यक् साम्राज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार।

ranges ; and his son Govinda as taking the throne from him (73), The Cambay plates of Govinda IV and the Karhad plates of a descendant of theirs Kṛsnaraja III confirm these details to a degree (72). In another inscription of king Abhimanyu of this family (74) we actually get the name Mānānka, to whose identification with Govinda III (and to the consequent identification of whose son Devarāja with the next ruler Kṛsna Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatunga, known as the founder of Mānapura or Mānyakheṭa, a city persumably named after his father) there does not appear any formidable objection. All this would place Mānānka in the first decades of the 9th century A. C. and this certainly agrees with the time we have ascertained for the *Vṛndāvana-kāvya* on grounds of internal evidence.

The only difficulty standing in the way of this identification is the non-mention in any of the inscriptions of the Rāṣtrakūta kings of Dhruva Nirupama and of his son Govinda as being credited with poetic power The epithet applied to the poet Mānānka in an anonymous commentary to the *Vṛndāvana-kāvya* (75) appears to agree as much with that describing him in the inscription where we actually get the name Mānānka that we are prepared to see all doubts set at rest. There can be no harm, however, in supposing that the poem came from the pen of a courtier poet of this king, in spite of direct assertion to the contrary—for the history of Sanskrit literature offers many parallels to this.

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(73) Radhanpur Plates verse 4 : आस्तां तात ! तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठिका किं नाज्ञेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं वचो योऽभ्यधात् । Cf. verses 7, 8 and 17 referring to his defeat over the Pallavas and his conquest of the Vindhyas and verse 12 referring to abdication of the throne in favour of his son Govinda ; and Cambay plates of Govinda IV, verse 10 :—(*Indian Antiquary* p. 163 : and page 159) :—

तस्योत्सर्जितगुर्जरो हृतहठाल्लाटोद्भटश्रीमदो गौड़ानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुः ···

(74) *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 91 :—Vide also Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji's prefatory note thereon. The genealogy given there need not cause any difficulties in the way of identification, when we remember that these kings had many *virudas* to distinguish them.

(75) *Tika*, H. Pr. I. 341 :— मानाङ्काभिधानो महीपालः सकलगुणतत्त्वज्ञो,··· and *Journal Bombay Branch, R. A. S.* Vol. XVI p. 91 :—

स्वस्त्यनेकगुणालङ्कृतयशसः (?) राष्ट्रकूटान्वयतिलकभूतो मानाङ्क इति राजा बभूव ।

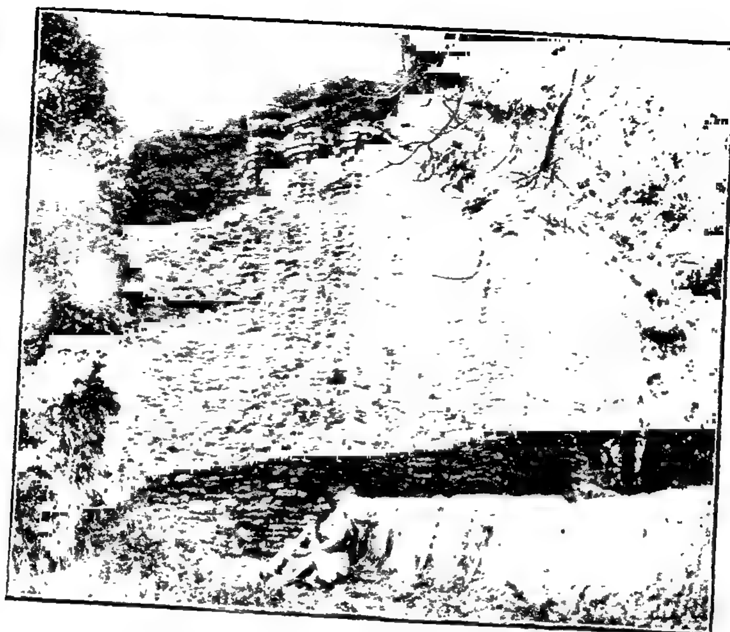
··· तस्य विग्रहवानिव देवराजो देवराज इति सूनुः ।



7. Nataraja, from the ruins of the Siva *temple* at Govindapur.



8. Buddha from Patharpratima.



3. Ruins of a temple at Delbari in Lot No. 122.



4. View of a temple in H. Plot.



5. Facade of the temple in H. Plot.



6. View of a Siva temple at Govindapur in Lot No. 114.



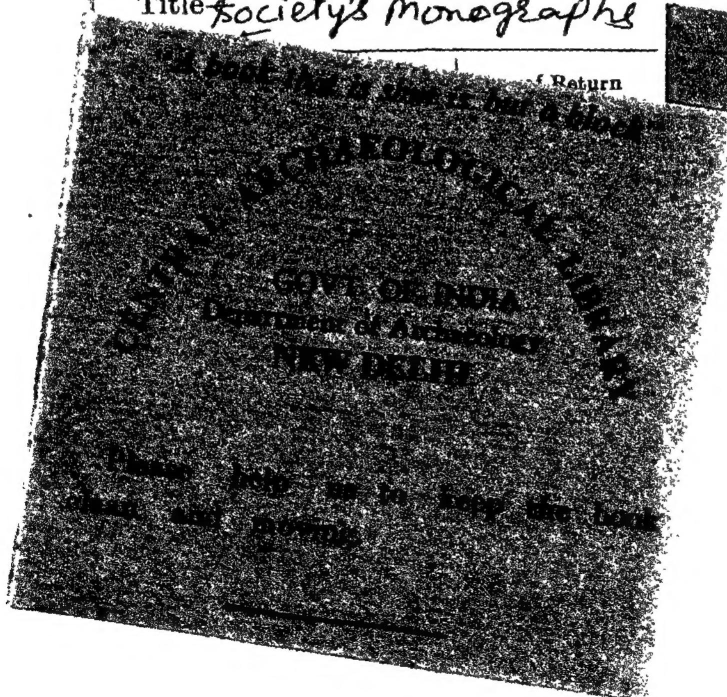
7. Nataraja, from the ruins of the Siva temple at Govindapur.



8. Buddha from Patharpratima.



9. Aghora-Rudra from Ghatnagar (Dist. Dinajpur).


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